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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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Speech of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio,

Upon the proposition of Mr. Thompson, of South Carolina, to appropriate "one hundred thousand dollars for the removal, subsistence, and benefit of such of the Seminole Chiefs and Warriors as may surrender for emigration." Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, February 9, 1841.

Mr. Giddings said he rose to congratulate the country upon the prospect of bringing this unhappy war to a close. I am, said he, however, in some degree incredulous as to its speedy termination, by the means proposed by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Thompson.)

While I would go as far as any member to bring this war to an immediate close, I think it important that we should carefully examine the causes that brought it on; the reasons of its repeated renewal and continuation, in order that we may be able to adopt such measures as will ensure peace at the earliest possible moment. I think the plan proposed is defective in one particular; and before I take my seat I intend to offer an amendment which, in my opinion, will correct the omission.

This war has become a subject of deep interest to the people of the nation. It has continued to occupy the attention of the government and the efforts of the army for more than five years. Our officers and soldiers have fallen victims to the climate, and to the hostile tribe with whom we have been contending. Near forty millions of the national treasure have been swallowed up in this most unfortunate contest. The attention of our people has often been called to these facts; while few, very few, of them have been fully informed as to the original exciting *cause* of this war, or the *manner* in which it has been renewed and conducted. Our army has been defeated; and I fear that our national honor has not remained altogether untarnished.—"Rumor, with her thousand tongues," has whispered of transactions which, if real, ought to be known; if not, these rumors should be forever silenced. The able speech of the gentleman from Vermont, over the way, (Mr. Everett,) in 1836, gave us some ideas of the manner in which the Indians with whom we are now contending, were treated.—Our own violations of the treaty with them, while we required a rigid observance on their part of all its terms, were clearly and ably expressed by him. It is not my intention to review our treaties with those Indians, or to speak of the manner in which those treaties were effected, or of the great injustice done to the Indians, except where these subjects have manifestly conduced to the disastrous war now under discussion. It is, however, my purpose to call the attention of the committee to the *causes* which led to these hostilities; to that *policy* which has involved us in the vast sacrifice of life and treasure, expended in Florida during the last five years; and to the effect which that policy has had upon the rights and the interests of the free States. I also propose to examine, for a few minutes, the manner in which this war has been conducted, as well as the effect which the conduct of our high officers of government must have upon the feelings of the people of the free States, and upon the honor of our nation. In doing this, I intend to test the constitutionality of that policy, by those plain and fundamental principles of our government to which I think we must all yield assent. In claiming for my constituents and the State which I in part have the honor to represent, as well as for the free States generally, the rights and privileges which I think belong to them, and which I think should be held sacred by every officer of government, I shall rely upon no principle that has not been frequently asserted by the slave States, and by both of the great political parties. Indeed, I intend to assert no principle but such as will command the assent of every member on this floor.

I have made these preliminary remarks in order that the committee may the better understand what I intend to say hereafter; and, having stated my premises, I will enter upon an investigation of the causes which led to the Florida war. Before I do this, however, I will take occasion to say that the lands occupied by these Indians formed no inducement for us to enter upon this war. General Jesup says, "those lands would not pay for the medicines used by our troops while employed against the Indians." The Seminole Indians, by the treaty entered into at Payne's Landing, on the 9th May, A. D. 1832, agreed to emigrate west of the Mississippi upon certain conditions. I shall not inquire whether those conditions were performed on our part, or whether the Indians were or were not morally bound to the observance of this stipulation. It is well known that they refused to emigrate, and that such refusal induced General Jackson to order the military force of the United States to Florida to *compel* them to emigrate. This attempted compulsion brought on the hostilities, which still continue. The important question now proposed, and which I intend to answer, is, *why did they refuse to emigrate?* The answer, however, may be found in executive documents of the 24th Congress, at its first session, (House doc. No. 271, p. 8) in an official letter of Wiley Thompson, Indian agent, to Wm. P. Duval, Governor of Florida, dated January 1, 1834, nearly a year previous to the commencement of hostilities. Speaking of the unwillingness of the Indians to emigrate, Gen. Thompson says:

"The *principal* causes which operate to cherish this feeling hostile to emigration are, first, the fear that their reunion with the Creeks, which will subject them to the government and control of the Creek national council, will be a surrender of a large *negro property* now held by those people, to the Creeks as an antagonist claimant."

Thus, sir, we have official intelligence that the *principal* cause of the war, was the fear of losing this "negro *property*." And we are led to inquire into the history of these conflicting claims to the "negro property" between the Creeks and Seminoles.

In the letter above quoted, General Thompson, speaking further on the subject, says:

"The Creek claim to negroes now in the possession of the Seminole Indians, which is supposed to be the first cause of hostility to the emigration of the latter tribe, grows out of the treaty of 1821 between the United States and the former."

We have now traced the orignal and principal cause of this war, as given by the Indian agent, to the treaty of Indian Spring, made on the 8th January, 1821. This is the official report of an accredited officer of government who had long mingled in the councils of the Indians, and who was most familiar with their views, and whose word, I presume, was never doubted. I will now ask the attention of the committee for a moment, while I relate some of the historical facts that brought about this treaty of 1821.

We are all aware that Indians frequently commit trespasses upon the property of their white neighbors. In 1802, Congress passed a law by which the people of Georgia received pay for all such trespasses committed subsequently by the Creek Indians, from the public treasure, and the amount thus paid was retained from the annuities or other moneys due the Indians. By the treaty of 1821, an attempt was made to obtain for the people of Georgia, pay for slaves who had left their masters and taken up their residence with the Indians *prior* to 1802; and an agreement was obtained from them consenting that the U. S. should pay to the people of Georgia the amount found due them for such losses prior to 1802, and retain the amount thus paid, out of the money due the Indians for the lands sold to the United States; provided the sum should not exceed $250,000.—The indemnity sought for the slaveholders of Georgia by this treaty was for losses sustained twenty years prior to the treaty, and extending back an indefinite period.

Under this treaty the Creek Indians were compelled to pay for slaves that had left their masters forty or fifty years prior to the date of the treaty. Nor were they compelled merely to pay for slaves that lived or had taken up their residence with the Indians; but they were charged for the value of the slave when shown to have left his master, without proof that he was with the Indians or had any existence in their country. I speak upon the authority of Mr. Wirt, late Attorney General, as expressed in Executive doc. No. 128, first session 20th Congress. Nor were these abuses unaccompanied with others of equally flagrant character.—Mr. Wirt, in the same communication, assures the President that the price allowed for a slave was *two or three times his real value*. Yet, after paying for all the slaves that could be shown to have left their masters, at two or three times their real value, together with other *property* taken or destroyed by the Seminoles prior to 1802, it was found that the whole amounted to but $101,000, leaving in the hands of government $149,000 belonging to the Indians. This money, however, was not returned to the Indians, but was retained by government until 1834, when the owners of the fugitive slaves petitioned Congress that it might be divided among them. This petition was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and the chairman, an honorable member from Georgia, (Mr. Gilmer,) reported in favor of dividing the money among the owners of the fugitive slaves, as a compensation for the *offspring which the slaves would have borne had they remained in bondage*. This plan, which I think sets at perfect defiance all Yankee calculations, was rejected by Congress. But a bill was subsequently introduced, providing for a division of this money among the owners of those slaves by way of *interest*, in direct violation of the treaty, and notwithstanding they had previously received two or three times the real value of their slaves; and this bill soon passed into a law. This was done in 1834. These slaves had most of them united with the Seminoles or runaways in the peninsula of Florida, and the Creeks, from whom the Seminoles had formerly separated, having paid to the people of Georgia two or three times the value of those slaves, now claimed them as their *property*. The Creeks had mostly gone west of the Mississippi, and their agents were in Florida demanding these negroes of the Seminoles. The Seminoles, in the meantime, it is said, had intermarried with the negroes, and stood connected with them in all the relations of domestic life. If they emigrated west, their wives and children would be taken from them by the Creeks as slaves; if they remained in Florida, they must defend themselves against the army of the U. S. With them, sir, it was *war* on one side and *slavery* on the other. This state of things was entirely brought about by the efforts of our government to obtain pay for the fugitive slaves of Georgia.

This interference of the Federal Government in behalf of slavery in Georgia, appears to have been the origin of all our Florida difficulties.

[Mr. Warren of Ga. called Mr. Giddings to order on the ground of irrelevancy.

The chairman, Mr. Clifford of Maine, decided that the remarks of Mr. Giddings, respecting the origin of the Florida war, were in order; and Mr. G. proceeded.]

I think this interposition of our Federal Government unconstitutional and improper, and will assign the reasons of that opinion.

[Mr. Habersham of Georgia called Mr. Giddings to order, and stated that the gentleman from Ohio had intimated his intention to offer an amendment to the proposition before the House, and was proceeding to make a speech pretty freely interlarded with abolition, while this committee were yet uninformed as to the terms of the amendment he intended to offer.

The chairman stated that the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio had reference to the proposition before the House, and were therefore in order.

Mr. Habersham desired to hear the amendment.]

Mr. Giddings resumed. I arose, Mr. Chairman, to discuss the Florida war, and I intend doing so, and cannot be drawn off upon any collateral points, nor frightened from it by the cry of *abolition*.

I will, however, say to the gentleman from Georgia, that I have not said, nor do I intend saying, one word upon the subject of *abolition*, although I may perhaps touch upon the doctrine of State rights and strict construction

I hold that if the slaves of Georgia, or any other State, leave their masters, the Federal Government has no constitutional authority to employ our army or navy for their recapture, or to apply the national treasure to re-purchase them. We possess no constitutional power to do either.—If, however, gentlemen of the South, who hold to a strict and rigid construction of that instrument, will point me to the clause of our Constitution containing such authority, I will confess my obligations to them. Such power would necessarily include the power to tax the free States to an indefinite extent for the support of slavery, and for arresting every fugitive slave who has fled from his master, within the several States of this Union. Such power I deny most distinctly and emphatically. But, sir, we have as much right to do this *directly* as we have to do it *indirectly*. We have as much power to employ our army and navy in recapturing fugitive slaves as we have to make a treaty with the Indians to retake such fugitives, and then employ our army and navy to compel the Indians to do it. We have as much power to tax the free States, and apply the money *directly* for the purchase of fugitive slaves, as we have to tax them to carry on a war for the purpose of compelling the surrender of such slaves; or even to apply the national treasure to the holding of such treaties. In truth, sir, we have no power *whatever* over the subject or institution of slavery *within* the several States of this Union. We have neither the power to sustain or abolish it, to create or destroy it. I mean, sir, that we have no such powers delegated to us for any *purpose whatever*. We have not the power to sustain it in the South, or establish it in the North. I know it is said, and repeated, and asserted, that a portion of the people of the free States hold that we have power to abolish slavery in the *States*. I can only say that I have never met with any intelligent man who has advanced such doctrine in my hearing. For my own part, I believe we have as much power to establish slavery in the free States, as we have to abolish it in the slave States. I say nothing of the constitutional power of Congress over the slave trade *between* the States. But, Mr. Chairman, I am not willing to believe that any gentleman on this floor will urge the right of taxing the freemen of the North for the holding in slavery the colored men at the South.

I would not use those distinctions of *North* and *South*, could I avoid them. Yet I think no apology is due from me on this point, as I have constantly heard them used, and repeated, and reiterated by gentlemen from a certain portion of the Union, during the three years I have had a seat in this Hall.

But, sir, I wish further to look into this power, or rather the want of power, in Congress over slavery within the States of this Union. In December, A. D. 1838, the gentleman from N. Hampshire (Mr. Atherton) introduced to this House, a resolution expressing the sense of the House in regard to this power.

[The chairman informed Mr. Giddings that the discussion of those resolutions would not be in order.]

I had, Mr. Chairman, no idea of discussing those resolutions. I merely refer to one of them, as expressing the views of the North and of the South on this subject. It speaks the voice of all the hundred and ninety-eight members who voted for it. It reads as follows:

"Resolved, That this government is a government of limited powers: that by the Constitution of the U. States, it has no power *whatever* over the institution of slavery in the several States of this Union."

This resolution received the almost unanimous support of this House. There were one hundred and ninety-eight votes in favor of it, and but six against it. I voted for it myself, because I deemed it correct. Every member from the slave States voted for it. I shall be slow to suspect that any of those gentlemen will now change their position, and say that we have power to *sustain* slavery; and that in voting for the resolution, they only intended to say that we have no power *whatever* over the subject to *abolish* it. I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that the Federal Government has at times interposed its influence to obtain for the citizens of slave States, compensation for slaves taken by Indian tribes and by Great Britain. But this fact furnishes no argument against the position I have assumed. The cases alluded to were merely the acts of the Executive, interposed by common consent, without discussion or objection, for the purpose of obtaining from such tribe or government, a compensation which we have uniformly refused when demanded of ourselves; for I believe it to be well understood, that we have never in any instance paid the owner for the loss of a slave, even when such slave was pressed into the public service, and killed while thus in the employ of government. The Florida war, having its origin in attempts on the part of the Federal Government to sustain slavery in one of the States of this Union, is so far unconstitutional, and is directly opposed to the doctrine contained in the resolution above quoted, which received the unanimous support of the slave States.

And now, having called the attention of the committee to the remote and *principal* cause of this war, I will ask their attention to some of the more proximate and immediate causes. On the 21st May, 1836, this House adopted a resolution calling upon the then President for "information respecting the causes of the Florida war." On the 31 June, the President transmitted to the House sundry papers relating to that subject; among which may be found an address or petition of nearly one hundred gentlemen, said to be among the principal inhabitants of Florida, calling on the President to interpose the power of the General Government for the purpose of securing them in the possession of their slaves. These gentlemen, speaking of the Seminole Indians, say:

"While this indomitable people continue where they now are, the owners of slaves in our Territory, and even in the States contiguous, cannot for a moment, in any thing like security, enjoy this kind of *property*."

This was a plain, direct, and palpable request for the President to interpose the strong arm of the nation in behalf of slavery. Nor did the President remain deaf to such request; but he immediately endorsed an order on the back of the petition, directing the Secretary of War to make inquiry, and, if the charges were found true, "to direct the Indians to prepare *forthwith* to remove west of the Mississippi." Soon after this, the treaty of Payne's Landing, having remained nearly two years unnoticed by the President, was sent to the Senate for their sanction; and every preparation was made to compel the Indians, by physical force, to remove west of the Mississippi. A correspondence was carried on with the officers of our army, and all the military force that could well be brought to Florida, was concentrated there for the purpose of compelling the Indians, at the point of the bayonet, to emigrate. This was done without even laying the subject before Congress, or asking for any legislative sanction.

It is not my intention to enlarge on this point, or to comment upon this very extraordinary interposition of Executive influence in favor of slavery, without constitutional or legitimate sanction. Neither have I time to comment upon the manner in which the treaty of Payne's Landing was obtained from the Indians; nor upon the extraordinary terms of that treaty; nor upon the still more extraordinary method of enforcing the Indians to an observance of the compact, by the use of the bayonet, without consulting the legislative authority, in defiance of justice, and without precedent. But I desire to examine into the causes of this war, and discover how far it has had its origin in attempts by the Executive to support and maintain slavery at the national expense, and in violation of the rights of the free States. In doing this, I shall speak from no vague conjecture, or uncertain suspicion; but what I say shall be "*from the book*;" from documentary evidence and official reports.

The address to which I have called the attention of the committee, estimates the number of negroes among the Seminole Indians at that time at more than five hundred: and they declare it as their belief that four-fifths of them are fugitive slaves. On the 20th January, 1834, Governor Duval, in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, says:

"The slaves belonging to the Indians have a controlling influence over the minds of their masters, and are entirely opposed to any change of residence. It will be best at once to adopt firm and decided measures; such as will demonstrate to the Indians the determination of government to see the treaty justly and fairly executed. This cannot be done until the bands of outlaws, (fugitive slaves,) mentioned in the agent's report, are arrested and broken up; for so long as they are permitted to remain, every Indian that is unwilling to emigrate, will seek their protection."

No man, perhaps, possessed better knowledge of these facts than Governor Duval, who assures us that the negroes controlled the Indians, and that the Indians sought the protection and support of the fugitive slaves. He further asserts that nothing could be done while those fugitive slaves were permitted to remain in Florida. If gentlemen will bear this advice in mind, they will better understand the policy that subsequently guided our army against the Indians.

In a letter dated January 26, 1834, Governor Duval says: "The slaves belonging to the Indians must be made to fear for themselves before they will cease to influence the minds of their masters." "You may be assured (says he) that the first step towards the emigration of these Indians must be the breaking up of the runaway slaves and outlawed Indians." Thus we are informed that the war must be first waged against the *fugitive slaves*. Perhaps I ought to explain that slavery among the Indians is very different from what it is among the whites. It is comparative independence. Hence the slaves of the Indians have a perfect horror of slavery among the white people. Of course the fugitive slaves and the Indian slaves become intimate friends, and act in concert for the liberty of all.

[Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, called Mr. Giddings to order, and stated that the member from Ohio was evidently assailing indirectly an institution which, by the rules of the House, was not liable to be assailed.

The Chairman said that the gentleman from Ohio had expressed his intention to discuss the *Florida war*, and he had understood the remarks as having reference to that subject. The Chair could not attribute a different motive from that expressed by the gentleman himself. I am (said he) therefore constrained to say the gentleman from Ohio is in order.]

Mr. Giddings resumed. I was not aware, Mr. Chairman, that our rules protected from discussion any *institution* whatever. I will, however, assure the gentleman from South Carolina that I shall only allude to the subject of slavery so far as it stands connected with the Florida war. That so far as it has been the means of drawing forty millions of dollars from the public Treasury, and most of it from the free States, I intend to assail it, and no farther. Governor Duval says "these slaves must first be made to fear for themselves." The war was first to be waged against *slaves*, for the reason that they influenced the minds of their masters in favor of *liberty*. In other words, the war must be directed against the right of a slave to express his mind to his Indian master on the subject of *human rights*. Sir, these slaves *were* made to fear for themselves in pursuance of these intimations of Governor Duval, as I will now endeavor to show this committee. On the 28th October, 1838, General Thompson, in a letter addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, says: "There are many very likely negroes in this nation, (Seminole.) Some of the whites in the adjacent settlements manifest a restless desire to obtain them, and I have no doubt that Indian raised negroes are now in possession of the whites." Thus, sir, it seems that *kidnapping was not* unknown in that country. This same General Thompson, the accredited officer of this Government, on the 9th of January, 1835, advises Government "that an expedition should be set on foot for the double purpose of driving the Indians within their boundary and to capture negroes, many of whom it is believed are runaway slaves." And, sir, our army was put in motion to *capture negroes and slaves*, as we shall find in the sequel. But I wish to call the attention of the committee for a few moments to the manner in which these slaves, in the words of Governor Duval, were "*made to fear for themselves*." On the 28th July, 1835, John Walker, one of the Apalachicola chiefs belonging to the Seminole band, wrote General Thompson, Indian agent, as follows: "I am (says he) induced to write you in consequence of the depredations making, and attempted to be made, upon my property, by a company of negro stealers, some of whom are from Columbus, Georgia, and have connected themselves with Brown and Douglass. I should like your advice how I am to act. I dislike to make any trouble or to have any difficulty with any of the white people. But if they trespass upon my premises and my rights, I must defend myself in the best way I can If they do make this attempt, and I have no doubt they will, they must bear the consequences. But is there no civil law to protect me? Are the *free negroes* and the negroes belonging to this town to be stolen away publicly, and, in the face of all law and justice, carried off and sold to fill the pockets of those *worse than land pirates*? Douglass and his company hired a man who has two large *trained dogs* for the purpose to come down and take Billey. He is from Mobile, and follows for a livelihood catching runaway negroes."

This, sir, is the language of a savage, addressed to his civilized neighbors. He called in vain for protection. A few days after the date of this letter, he was robbed of all his negroes: so says the report of the United States attorney, addressed to the Secretary of War, and dated April 21, 1836. But of the number of *freemen* kidnapped at the same time, we are not informed. At all events, "*the slaves were made to fear for themselves*," as Governor Duval advised. Can we wonder that these Indians were driven to acts of desperation?

Here, sir, is the first mention I have met of the use of "bloodhounds" in this Florida war. They were used by "negro stealers," for the purpose of catching the colored people of Florida, and our officers have copied the example. But I intend to give further examples of the use of bloodhounds before I close. I have, however, no time for comment. My object is to place *facts* before the people of this nation, and let every man make his own comments, and draw his own conclusions. I will give one more example of the mode of "teaching slaves to fear for themselves." E-con-chattimico was also an Indian chief of the Seminole band, living upon the Apalachicola river, and was perhaps one who signed the treaty at Camp Moultrie in 1832, by which we solemnly pledged the faith of this nation to protect the Indians in the enjoyment of their lives and property. This chief is said to have owned twenty slaves, valued at $15,000. These "negro stealers" were seen hovering around his plantation, and their object could not be misunderstood. By the advice of the sub-agent, he armed himself and people for the purpose of defending themselves.—When the negro stealers learned that E-con-chattimico's people had armed themselves in defence of their *liberty*, (for they considered Indian slavery liberty, compared with white slavery,) they raised a report that the Indians had armed themselves for the purpose of uniting with the hostile Seminoles, and murdering the white people. On learning this, E-con-chattimico at once delivered up his arms to the white people, and threw himself upon their protection. Disarmed and unable to defend his people, they were immediately kidnapped, taken off, and sold into interminable bondage.—E-con-chattimico now calls on us to pay him for the loss he has sustained in the violation of our treaty, in which we solemnly covenanted to protect him and his property. Robbed, abused, insulted and deceived, he emigrated to the West, and now looks to us for a redress of the wrongs he has sustained. I give the substance of his statement, as related by him in his petition, and communicated by General Thompson, Governor Duval, and the district attorney of East Florida, and sworn to by several witnesses.

But, sir, this transaction, and others equally abusive, were soon known throughout Florida. The Indians and negroes were thus admonished of the necessity of uniting their efforts and energies in defence of their liberty and lives.—Governor Duval, speaking of this transaction, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated the 23d of May, says "it was an outrage well calculated to rouse the Indians to hostility." These are the acts that have led us on, step by step, until we have found ourselves in the midst of a most disastrous war.

The men who committed these robberies, and kidnapped those negroes, were well known, for the acts were committed in open day; their names and places of residence are distinctly mentioned: but I have yet to learn that any one of them has been punished in any manner for this warfare against the liberty of the blacks and the rights of the Indians. Indeed, it seems to have been an object with some of the officers employed in Florida, to induce Government itself to enter into the business of *capturing and selling slaves*. J. W. Harris, disbursing agent of Government, in a letter to the Commissary General of Subsistence, dated December 30, 1836, says: "I would respectfully suggest that you recommend to the honorable Secretary of War that the annuity due to the hostile Indians be retained to defray the expenses of this war; and that the slaves who shall be captured, whom I believe to have been generally active instigators to our present troubles, be sold at public sale, and the proceeds appropriated to the same object." This is the first official proposition that has come to my knowledge, for the Government to enter into competition with the "*negro stealers*," by capturing and selling slaves. At the time this suggestion was made, we were engaged in open war with these people, who had sought liberty in the wilds of Florida. If they were captured, they would be *prisoners of war*; and for us to sell them as slaves, would be as much a violation of our national honor as it would have been for them to have sold, as slaves, such of our people as they were able to capture.

I may perhaps be permitted to remark that, among the people of the free States, nothing is regarded with so much disgust and abhorrence as the buying and selling of men, women, and children, and that this feeling is common among all classes and all political parties.

Mr. Chairman, I have called the attention of the committee to what is officially announced as the first and principal cause of this war, and also to some of the proximate and immediate causes. I think no man can doubt that it originated in the attempts of the Executive to support slavery by the influence and efforts of our national Government, in violation, as I think of the constitution and of the rights of the free States. I propose to investigate the subject a little further, and to examine into the cause that led to its *renewal and continuance*.

On the 6th of March, 1837, General Jesup entered into a conventional arrangement with the Seminole Indians, by which it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the Indians should emigrate west of the Mississippi; that they should be secure in their lives and property; and "that negroes, their bona fide property," should accompany them. By the terms of this compact, no negroes were included except those who were called the "bona fide property" of the Indians, although Gov. Duval, Gen. Jesup, and the Indian agent, all unite in saying that the Indians were controlled by the blacks. These blacks comprised both fugitive slaves and free people of color, who were connected with the Indians by marriage and consanguinity. The attempt to separate them appears to me to have been hopeless.

The Indian who had married a fugitive slave, and reared a family of children, would not, in my opinion, quietly fold his arms and view his offspring and their mother marched off into interminable slavery, while he himself should go west. Nor do I believe that will ever be done. They are all the enemies of our country, fighting in arms against us They have already cost us much treasure and the blood of many freemen. If they will now surrender themselves "prisoners of war," I would send them all west together. No person can doubt our perfect right to do so; and I think justice to the nation and to the Indians requires it; and my amendment will be to that effect. General Jesup's attempt to separate them failed, and I believe all further attempts of that kind will fail.

This compact between General Jesup and the Indians bears date on the 6th March. On the 18th of the same month, a solemn remonstrance against this arrangement was signed by a number of gentlemen of high standing in Florida, and transmitted to the Secretary of war. These gentlemen totally objected to any pacification that did not provide for the recapture of their fugitive slaves. They objected to the Indians going west until they should take and return to their owners the slaves who had escaped from their masters in Florida. The remonstrance may be found at 55th page of executive documents of the House of Representatives, No., 225, of the 3d session of the 25th Congress. It is an interesting paper, but of too great length for me to read at this time. It shows, in a most palpable light, the views entertained by those gentlemen in regard to the cause and object of this war. Whatever others may have thought upon that subject, it is clear that they supposed the war to have been commenced and carried on for the purpose of aiding them in holding their slaves; and they declare it incompatible with the honor and dignity of the nation to permit the Indians to emigrate until they shall bring the slaves back to their owners. I have no doubt they felt that they were correct in their views; nor do I believe they entertained a doubt of the justice and propriety of taxing the free States to any extent in support of slavery. There was, however, a cessation of hostilities, notwithstanding these remonstrances. The Indians ceased for a time to plunder the defenceless families of Florida, to burn their cabins, and murder the defenceless women and children; but, sir, the fugitive slaves remained yet hidden in the swamps and everglades of that untraversed country. Peace on such terms appears to have been unacceptable to the people of Florida. I will not speak the conclusions of my own mind, however, on this subject, but will give you the words of a high officer of Government, who was on the spot, and who spoke from positive knowledge. I refer to General Jesup, who, in a letter dated 29th March, 1837, and directed to Colonel John Warren, speaking of the anxiety of the Indians to maintain the peace agreed upon says: "*There is no disposition on the part of the great body of the Indians to renew hostilities; and they will, I am sure, faithfully fulfil their engagements, if the inhabitants of the Territory be prudent. But any attempt to seize their negroes or other property would be followed by an immediate resort to arms.*"

Thus we have the authority of General Jesup for saying that the Indians were *anxious to maintain peace*. That he was at the same time *apprehensive that the people would attempt to seize the Indian negroes*. What reason General Jesup had to suspect that the people of Florida would be otherwise than *prudent*, or what reason he had to fear that they would *seize the Indian negroes*, I know not. He certainly exhibited fears upon the subject. For on the 5th April, being seven days subsequent to this letter to Col. Warren, we find that he issued a general order in the following words: "*The Commanding General has reason to believe that the interference of unprincipled white men with the negro property of the Seminole Indians, if not immediately checked, will prevent their emigration, and lead to a renewal of hostilities.*" The order goes on to prohibit any person not connected with the public service from entering upon the territory assigned to the Indians. In this order we have official intelligence that the whites did in fact interfere with the Indian slaves, or, in other words, they began to rob the Indians of their slaves almost as soon as hostilities ceased. As to the outrages committed upon the free blacks during the suspension of hostilities, we have no information in this order, and are left to infer the course pursued towards them from the evidence I have previously given. If these people were sufficiently rapacious to rob the Indians of their negroes under such circumstances, it is easy to form an opinion as to the safety of the free colored people found with the Indians. How many of them, if any, were made slaves we know not. On the 18th April, twelve days after the date of his letter to Col. Warren, Gen. Jesup wrote to Governor Call, saying: "If the citizens of the Territory be *prudent*, the war may be considered at an end. But any attempt to interfere with the Indian negroes would cause an immediate resort to hostilities. The negroes control their masters, and they have heard of the act of your legislative council. Thirty or more of the Indian negro men were at and near my camp on the Withlacoochie late in March. But the arrival of two or three citizens of Florida, said to be in search of negroes, caused them to disperse at once, and I doubt whether they will come in again At all events, the emigration will be delayed a month, I apprehend, in consequence of the alarm of these negroes."

The embarrassment into which General Jesup was thrown is quite apparent, notwithstanding his order of the 5th April. The people were anxious to hunt for slaves. The negroes, it would seem, were under constant apprehension, and fled when a slave catcher came into their vicinity. Whether the Indian negroes had cause for that fear, we are unable to judge, except from the documents before us. Between the Indians and our army, it appears, there was no difficulty whatever. But the difficulty appears to have been between the Indians and negroes on one side, and those who sought to rob the Indians and enslave the blacks on the other. It is also quite evident that some of the people of Florida were restless under the order of the 5th of April, prohibiting them from entering the Indian country. When intelligence respecting that order reached St. Augustine, it seems a public meeting was called and a committee appointed to procure its repeal, in order that the white people might enter the Indian country for the purpose of seizing slaves.

This committee, said to be composed of men of high standing, addressed a long letter to General Jesup, in which they say, speaking of the people of Florida: "While they believe that the accomplishment of a certain pacification must, as it ought, be an object of primary importance in these negotiations, they persuade themselves that the preservation of the negro property belonging to the inhabitants of this desolated country, must be seen by him to be an object of scarcely less moment." It is a most undeniable fact, borne out by every part of these official documents, that the people of Florida supposed that the great object of the war was to aid the slaveholders in capturing and recovering their slaves. This same protest goes on to recount facts in regard to their slaves having run away, and finding a place of refuge in the Indian country, and the concluding of an armistice by General Jesup, without getting their slaves back, and then the signers add: "Against such a course, a course so destructive of their rights and interests, the citizens of St. Augustine, and others, in public meeting assembled, for themselves and on behalf of the inhabitants of East Florida generally, *do most solemnly protest.*" This, sir, is the solemn protest of the citizens of Florida against any cessation of hostilities upon other terms than *of getting back their slaves*, or rather of permitting them to enter the Indian country to obtain their slaves. The horror with which the negroes, both Indian slaves and free blacks, regarded those who came within their territory for the purpose of catching slaves, is shown by the letter of General Jesup just quoted; in which he states that thirty Indian negroes, in and about his camp, at once ran away when they heard that two men were there in quest of slaves.

With these people, the great, important, and absorbing subject appears to have been *slaves*, not *peace*. Indeed, subject appears to have been generally active instigators to our present troubles, be sold at public sale, and the proceeds appropriated to the same object." This is the first official proposition that has come to my knowledge, for the we have their solemn protest against extinguishing the flames of war, or stopping the torrent of blood which had so long flowed, until they should have their slaves secured to them. They were unwilling that the treasure of the nation should cease to be poured out until they should have their fellow men brought back into bondage. But, sir, I should fatigue the committee too much were I to refer to a tenth part of the documentary evidence which I have before me on this subject, or to that part which goes to prove the attempts of our government officers to get back the slaves who had escaped from their masters; or the manner in which that object entered into the plans of the War Department. Nor have I time to give any considerable portion of the evidence showing how this object of capturing slaves and supporting slavery entered into the designs, and was carried out in the movements of the army. The time which may reasonably be claimed by me will only permit me to glance at the subject, and to lay before this committee and the people of this nation a small portion of the facts which I wish I were able to present to them. It will be sufficient in this place to remark, that immediately after these protestations against peace—these official communications showing that the Indians had no desire to renew the war, and that the only danger to be apprehended was the unlawful interference by the people of Florida with the Indian negroes, the flames of war were again lighted up; our troops were again put in motion; the treasury of our nation was again placed under contribution; and the blood of defenceless women and helpless children again flowed, in order, as it appears, that slaveholders might recover their slaves. I speak, sir, from official documentary evidence. These facts and those which I intend to refer to are on record in the archives of our nation, and will descend in all coming time to give character to this unholy war.

It would appear, from a perusal of the documents before me, that Gen. Jesup was unable to fulfil his covenant with the Indians, to protect them, and the negroes connected with them; but on this point we have no direct evidence. Certain it is, that he was unable to bring the negroes to terms of submission. I use the term *negroes*, because he says, officially, that "the negroes controlled the Indians." Being unable to subdue the enemy, his troops falling a prey to the unhealthy climate in which he was situated, the citizens being murdered, their habitations burned, and his army discouraged, he issued the order No. 160, to which I will now call the attention of the committee. That part to which I particularly refer is in the following words: "All Indian property captured from this date will belong to the corps or detachment making it." The sense in which the term *property* was used in this order is fully explained in a letter of Gen. Jesup to Col. Warren, dated a few days subsequent, in which, speaking of the Seminoles, he says: "Their *negroes*, cattle, and horses, will belong to the corps by which they are captured." This order bears date on the 3d of August, 1837, and may be found at page 4 of the documents communicated to this House by the Secretary of War on the 27th day of February, 1839. I think that history will record this as the first general order issued by the commander of an American army in which the catching of slaves is held out as an incentive to military duty. I mention this fact, and bring it to the consideration of the committee with feelings of deep mortification. As an American, I feel humbled at this act, which cannot be viewed by the civilized world otherwise than dishonorable to our arms and nation. That this officer, entrusted with the command of our army and the honor of our flag, should appeal to the cupidity, the desire of plunder, and the worst of human passions, in order to stimulate his men to effort, is, I think, to be regretted by men of all parties, in all sections of our country. Our national flag, which floated in proud triumph at Saratoga, which was enveloped in a blaze of glory at Monmouth and Yorktown, seems to have been prostituted in Florida to the base purpose of leading on an organized company of "negro catchers." Sir, no longer is "*our country*" the battle cry of our army in their advance to victory; but *slaves* has become the watchword to inspire them to effort. No longer does the war-worn veteran, amid the battle's rage, think of his country's glory, and nerve his arm in behalf of *freedom*; but with eagle eyes he watches the wavering ranks of the enemy, and as the smoke rises from the battle-field, he plunges amid their fleeing cohorts to seize upon the sable foe that he may make him his future slave.

(*To be concluded next week.*)

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

The Captives of the Amistad.

Washington, March 1, 1841.

After some preliminary business had been disposed of, Mr. Adams resumed his place in behalf of the African captives of the Amistad. He commenced by referring to the melancholy event which had occurred since he last addressed the court, and which had interrupted the action of the court itself; he begged permission to express his hearty, cordial, painful concurrence in the sentiments of the court and bar, in relation to the deceased Judge. He then briefly re-stated the course of argument which he had thought it his duty to adopt, first appealing to this court as a court of JUSTICE, and then showing with what injustice his clients had met from the Executive Court of the government, which injustice he traced to its source, a strong *sympathy* with one of the parties in interest and against the other. He took the occasion to disclaim all feelings of personal unkindness towards the President, or the Secretary of State, or any of the Cabinet, relative to the case. With every one of them he had lived in private intercourse, on terms of the most friendly character. And as to their political differences, they must pass for what they were worth. At the very moment of the expiration of this Administration, he felt extreme reluctance at bringing its conduct before the court. He appealed to his learned friend, the Attorney General, to bear witness that he was not voluntary in doing it. He had even descended to personal solicitation that he might be spared the necessity of appearing, by a comment on the part of the Executive, to a dismissal of the appeal, and allowing the matter to rest on the decision of the court below. But he had failed in his effort, and painful as it was, he would do justice to his clients, whose lives and liberties were now pending upon the decision of this court.

He then concluded his analysis of the course of the Executive—the correspondence of the Secretary with the District Attorney of Connecticut—the suppressed letters of the latter—the opinion of the late Attorney General—the complaints of M. Anguis that there was any sympathy for the Africans—the alleged confidential conversations of the Secretary with the Spanish Minister—the suggestion first made by the District Attorney of Connecticut in his *suppressed* letter to the Secretary of State—then by the Secretary—*confidential* conversation to the Spanish Minister, which resulted in the formal application of the latter for a ship of war to carry the Africans "beyond seas," for trial; the despatch of the Grampus to New Haven, under secret orders, with the direction not to wait for the Africans to appeal.—Perhaps I may hereafter give you a brief survey of the whole of this part of the argument, including what is yet behind of his first day's speech. The examination of the opinion of the late Attorney General was considerably minute, and very searching. The whole rests on the idea that the "due faith and credit" which "comity" requires, should be paid to the acts of foreign courts and officers, goes so far that a mere passport or custom house permit is to conclude all courts in regard to all questions of life, liberty, or property, in all countries and between all parties. Papers are to be credited, said Mr. Adams, for that which they purport to do. But whoever supposed that a custom-house permit was evidence of property in him who obtained it? And he referred to decisions of this court to that effect.

He examined the celebrated case of the Antelope, and brought forward the records of the District and Circuit Courts in that case, to show, first, that so far as any thing was decided by that case, it was in favor of the Africans, in deciding that our courts will take notice of the unlawfulness of the African slave trade after it has been abolished by any nation, and that in questions of property in African slaves, the individuals named shall be identified by actual proof to the satisfaction of the court, and secondly, that on the main point, the recognition of foreign slave property, the Judges of the Supreme Court declined giving reasons for their

ted States. The government does not come in as a party in interest, but in its public character to secure the performance of the national obligation arising under the treaty. There was no interference with the regular and independent action of the Court. The whole tenor of the correspondence shows that the Spanish Minister intended to demand the slaves as property, as well as in the character of criminals. At any rate, the Executive so received it, and this Court will consider the construction of the Executive as binding, in relation to cases within its province, connected with political relations to foreign powers. The alleged denial of the competency and jurisdiction of the U. S. Courts, by the Spanish Minister, would not alter the duty of our own Executive as to the mode of its proceeding in the fulfilment of the treaty stipulation. Each government is to judge for itself whether the treaty is performed. Our government does not consider itself bound by the decisions of foreign courts, but seeks national redress and idemnity to our citizens for the wrongs done by those very courts. How then can the denial of jurisdiction of the Court by a foreign functionary affect the right of our own Executive to go to the court for a decision of the question of property involved in the case?

Mr. G. argued that an examination of the correspondence was quite aside from the case for the Executive Government in the exercise of its appropriate functions, believed that a case had arisen under the treaty, which it was proper should be submitted to the Courts. It is argued, said he, that the government ought not to have appealed. Why not? It was a party in the case, admitted by the Court below, and not objected against by the respondents, the obligation of the U. S. to deliver up the vessel, cargo and slaves, if the property of Spanish subjects, was alleged on the record, the decree left the question pending between the two governments, and it moreover subjected the U. S. to a heavy expense in sending the negroes to Africa, when their case was not within the Act of Congress. Why then had not the U. S. a right to appeal? They are parties to the record, and are aggrieved, not by a direct injury to their direct interest, but because compelled to forego the fulfilment of a treaty obligation for which they are answerable to a foreign government, and to execute what the Act of Congress does not require. How could it be otherwise than their duty to appeal?

As to the alleged objection that the property is not of sufficient value, he argued that the claim of the U. States was to be taken in the aggregate, and could not be divided by the mere form of a several plea by each of the respondents. The claim of the U. States is not for property, but a question of abstract right, for the performance of a treaty obligation, and so is not to be measured in money value.

If the case is before the Court, then the question is, whether the property is fully proved. It is too late to deny that slaves are property; they are and ever have been regarded as such by the laws both of Spain and of the U. S. Slavery is recognized by the Constitution, and by all branches of our government. Is it to be supposed, then, that the U. S., in a treaty stipulation regarding property, did not intend to include slaves? If slaves are not regarded as property, by what right has the general government demanded idemnity for slaves as the property of American citizens, in the Bermuda case? The terms of the treaty are broad and general, extending to all kinds of property or merchandize, and must include slaves, as recognized by both governments, then and ever since, as property.

To the objection that the Africans could not be regarded as themselves property rescued out of their own hands, he replied, that slaves were always regarded in the double capacity of persons and things, of persons competent to commit crimes, and as chattels subject to all the laws of property. As to the proof in the case, there could be no doubt of the identity of the slaves, and their own evidence shows that they are the same that were brought on board by Ruiz and Montez, and remained with their owners until they were placed in the custody of our Courts. They were negroes, in the hands of Spanish subjects, in a country where slavery is tolerated, in a regularly documented vessel, in the hands of persons holding the regular proof of property, and there was therefore full *prima facia* evidence that they were slaves. And this Court is not to presume that, if they are remitted to Cuba, the final question whether they are slaves or free, will not be tried with the same impartiality and decided with the same regard to justice, in the tribunals of Spain as in this country. This Court is not competent to declare them free by the laws of Spain, in the face of the certificate of the highest Spanish functionary that they are slaves. This Court cannot be called upon to place a construction on the treaty of Spain with Great Britain different from that of the highest authorities of one party to that treaty. The proper course is, to restore the property as it was. It ought not to be regarded as a question of life or death, freedom or slavery, to these negroes. If they are free by the laws of Spain, they will be so declared by the Courts of Spain. The evidence is sufficient to authorize their restitution under the treaty, and therefore the decree below is erroneous, and ought to be reversed.

And so this great case, so deeply affecting human destiny, is in the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States for its final earthly decision. May God grant JUSTICE to the right, and send deliverance to the injured.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Northville Convention.

Pursuant to adjournment and call, a Convention for Western New-York met at Northville, Cayuga county, on Wednesday, Feb 24, 1841.

J. C. Hathaway, Chairman of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Board, called the meeting to order, and nominated for President *pro tem.* J. C. Fuller. W. C. Rogers was appointed Secretary.

On motion of J. C. Jackson, the chair appointed a committee of three, on rules and regulations. J. C. Jackson, Pardon D. Hathaway and Nathaniel Miller, committee.

On motion, a Business Committee, consisting of J. C. Hathaway, Elihu Slocomb, Joseph Crocker, Mathias Hutchinson, Ezra C. Smith, John Pryor and Isaac Jacobs, was appointed.

On motion, Hamilton Avery, Geo Slocomb and Ansel Chadwick, were appointed a committee to nominate officers of the Convention.

The Committee on rules, &c., reported the following for the government of the Convention, viz:

1. No person shall speak but twice upon a question, and not more than twenty minutes at a time, without leave of the house.

2. All business brought before the Convention for its consideration shall come through the hands of the Business Committee.

3. Each session may be opened by a season of silence, or prayer.

4. The morning session shall commence at 9 o'clock, A. M., and close at 12. Afternoon at half past 1, and close at 5. The evening at 6 1-2. Report adopted.

The committee on nominations reported the following persons for officers of the Convention, and they were elected:

JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, *President.*

DAVID THOMAS, DANIEL BRADLEY, ASA CROCKER, } *Vice-Presidents.*

W. C. ROGERS, ISAAC JACOBS, Jr., } *Secretaries.*

The business committee reported for the consideration of the meeting, as follows:

Resolved, That the principle of slavery is directly contrary to the great leading principles of the Christian religion—that its practice necessarily causes the transgression of every commandment of the Decalogue, and is therefore a *sin* of the first magnitude.

Sustained by J. C. Jackson, and adopted.

Afternoon Session.

Season of silence.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all, and the more especial duty of the professed followers of Christ, to make use of every means which has the sanction of the Bible to effect the abolition of slavery.

Its adoption being moved, E. Southwick moved an amendment, by inserting after Bible, "*and common sense.*" The amendment was opposed by H. J. Eddy as unnecessary, the Bible being in perfect accordance with common sense. J. C. Hathaway also opposed the amendment. W. O. Duvall proposed an amendment to the amendment, by substituting "*nature*" for "*common sense.*" Neither amendment prevailed. The merits of the resolution were discussed by J. C. Hathaway, M. C. Reed, A. Chadwick and H. J. Eddy, and it was adopted.

Resolved, That, as the dread Bastile of American slavery is sustained by public opinion, our efforts should be directed at the object of producing a change in public opinion on the subject of slavery.

Supported by S. C. Cuyler, Reed, and David Thomas.

Resolved, That the anti-slavery platform is broad enough for all of every *sect*, in politics or religion, to stand upon, and that we cordially invite all those who embrace the principles of immediate emancipation to join us in our efforts for the overthrow of slavery.

Discussed by Jackson, Cuyler, Hathaway, Duvall and Reid, and adopted.

J. C. Fuller was requested to favor the Convention this evening, with a narrative of his recent visit to the Canadian refugees.

Evening Session.

Prayer by Rev. H. J. Eddy.

On motion, the address from J. C. Fuller, on the Canada mission, was postponed until to morrow evening, and the following resolution was called up and discussed to a late hour, and with great interest, by Jackson, Hathaway, Fuller, Cuyler, Reed and Eddy, viz:

Resolved, That the numerous objections to our cause among the different classes of community, such as "you will divide the Union"—"the slaves will cut their masters' throats"—"if emancipated, will all come to the North"—"it is better to colonize them to Africa"—"they have no right to this country"—and many others, are *untrue*, and furnish to no individual an excuse for his refusing to engage in the work of human freedom.

Morning Session.

W. O. Duvall requested liberty to explain sundry remarks made by him yesterday. Granted.

The Business Committee reported for the action of the meeting a large number of resolutions. Those which time allowed to be called up, discussed and adopted, are as follows:

Resolved, That Abolitionism is going down—down East, down North, down West, down South; down in New-York, down in Kentucky, down into the hearts and consciences of the people—and by its power will drag down slavery to a grave so deep that it shall never have a resurrection. Sustained by Reed and Fuller.

Whereas, previous to, during and succeeding the American revolution, colonial slavery was rapidly on the wane; and whereas, it was the understanding of those who formed the Constitution, that domestic slavery was to be speedily put away by the several State governments, and that no new Slave State would ever be annexed to the Union; and whereas, by the ratio of representation, the North has, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, held the balance of political power in the councils of the nation: therefore

Resolved, That, for the present existence of slavery and the domestic slave trade, the States north of "Mason and Dixon's line" are responsible.

Sustained by Duvall and Hathaway.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to all the friends of justice and humanity, to abstain from the use of the productions of slave labor.

This resolution elicited a very interesting discussion from Jackson, Cuyler, Fuller and Reed, and was adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the charge is *untrue*, that we intend, on the *anti-slavery* platform, to settle the appropriate sphere of *woman* off that platform: in other words, that we desire to advocate woman's equality with man in the various relations of life. But it is true, that we do most cordially invite, as co-laborers with us, *all*, both *male* and *female*, who honestly and truly embrace our PRINCIPLES, leaving each individual to the use of such measures as may best accord with duty to God and love to the slave; and that the responsibility of such measures, is their *own*.

Supported by Jackson, Reed and Eddy.

Resolved, That we recommend to the abolitionists the paper called the "National Anti-Slavery Standard," as a paper which advocates abolition with fidelity and truth, and respectfully urge them to subscribe for the same.

Jackson spoke in the affirmative and Cuyler in the negative. The latter wished to amend by inserting after National Anti-Slavery Standard, "Friend of Man," &c.—Amendment did not prevail, not being seconded.

Resolved, That we cannot but express our abhorrence of the *laws* upon our Statute Book, commonly known as the "NINE MONTHS LAW," and that we do most earnestly entreat the Legislature for a prompt and decisive repeal; considering that it compromits our character as a free State, sanctions slavery at the South by its moral influence, and makes our assertions of love and attachment to "free institutions," of a questionable nature in the estimation of *Southern men*; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Legislature of this State, signed by the officers of the meeting.

Discussed by A. Chadwick, Cuyler, J. C. Hathaway, Duvall, Fuller, Reed and Jackson, and a copy directed to be forwarded to the Legislature.

Afternoon Session.

Season of silence.

The following resolution was called up and discussed by J. C. Hathaway and Reed.

Resolved, That the *inter state* suffers nothing by a comparison with the *foreign* slave trade; but, if possible, is of a more aggravated and atrocious character, and the participants far more criminal than those whom our laws have designated as pirates and felons; and that it should be at once abolished by the united action of this nation.

Resolved, That the honor of our country, and the maintenance of that high position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth, demand the immediate abolition of slavery at the seat of our *national* government, and throughout the territories of this republic; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Senators from this State, and to the member from this congressional district, signed by the chairman and secretaries.

Sustained by Jackson, W. C. Rogers, and Chadwick.

Resolved, That opportunity now be given for any individual, who may wish to do so, to contribute funds and make pledges to the anti-slavery cause.

This resolution was eloquently supported by J. C Hathaway and Jackson, and opposed by Cuyler and Duvall, on the ground that the "Western Anti-Slavery Board" were "*Whig* abolitionists"!!

The following subscriptions were then taken up:

Mathias Hutchinson,	$5, paid	Geo. Slocum,	$5, paid.
David Anthony,	5 "	Hiram Hopkins,	1 "
Asa Crocker,	2 "	Wm. Atwater,	2 "
Elias J. Doty,	2 "	Benjamin Gould,	5 "
Slocomb Howland,	5 "	Charles Kendall,	3 "
Deborah Carpenter,	1 "	Hannah C. Hutchinson,	2 "
Amos R. Willetts,	2 "		
Elihu Slocomb,	5 "	Sally Slocomb,	1 "
A friend,	10 "	Asa Palmer,	0 50
James C. Fuller,	10	Cash from sundry,	6 44
David White,	2 "	A friend for "Standard,"	10 00
Joseph Crocker,	2 "		
Subscriptions and pledges, total,			$86 94
Cash paid in,			76 94

The following resolution was then called up and discussed by Reed and Hathaway:

Resolved, That this Convention do earnestly ask the legislature of this State to take efficient measures to secure to the 15,000 colored citizens of this State, over 21 years of age, the "right of suffrage," upon the same terms as it is enjoyed by white citizens; and that in so doing, it may, (in the opinion of this Convention,) rest assured that Western New-York will most vigorously sustain it in its course; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the legislature of this State, signed by the chairman and secretaries.

Resolved, That the peaceful abolition of American slavery depends, under God, upon the *conduct* of professing Christians of the free States; that unless they withhold their *ecclesiastical* and *political* support to the system, it must go down in blood.

Eloquently sustained by Rev. Messrs. Smith and Eddy, and further discussed by Fuller, Jackson and Reed.

Evening Session.

Prayer by Rev. E. C. Smith.

Agreeably to appointment, J. C. Fuller addressed a large and deeply interested audience for nearly two hours, upon his recent visit to Canada, and the schools under the charge of our friend and indefatigable fellow-laborer, Hiram Wilson; at the close of which, J. C. Jackson moved the following:

Resolved, That this Convention entertain the utmost confidence in Hiram Wilson, and tender him our sympathy in his arduous work, and also tender to our friend and brother, J. C. Fuller, our thanks for his interesting narrative of his late visit to Canada.

Unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That *truth* is mighty and will prevail, and that he who doubts its power to overthrow slavery, may yet live to see the day when his doubts shall be swallowed up in the triumphant vision of our country, free, glorious,—"a name and praise in the earth."

J. C. Jackson sustained this resolution with one of his spirit-stirring speeches of about 30 minutes, and though at a late hour, it was with great reluctance he was suffered to bring his remarks to a close.

On motion

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the citizens of Northville, for the use of their house, and for that large liberality which we have received at their hands.

On motion, adjourned.

JAMES C. FULLER, *President.*

W. C. ROGERS, ISAAC JACOBS, jr. } *Secretaries.*

PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

An adjourned public discussion will be held on Monday evening, the 15th instant, at half past seven o'clock, in the schoolroom, basement of the Broadway Tabernacle, entrance from Catharine Lane.

Question.—Are women entitled to all the rights that men are, or not? Admittance free.

"Public Meeting of the Colored Citizens of Trenton, N. J."

MR. EDITOR—In the Standard of last week, there appeared an article under the above head, which related to letters written by Mr. A. Washington, and published in the "Colored American," and also an attack upon ourself, for not publishing certain proceedings in reply. If the proceedings, as published in the "Standard," originated with the colored people of Trenton, it is very strange, that they should have made no attempt to correct the statement made by Mr. Washington, and about which some of them professed to have felt so much aggrieved. This appears to be rather an attack upon the "Colored American," which makes us think they might have had, in part at least, some other origin besides Trenton. You will have the goodness to publish the following, which appeared in the "Colored American" of January 30th, as *some of the reasons for not publishing the proceedings referred to*, and to show your readers that we have not passed the matter by in silence.

There was one other reason why those proceedings were not published, and which, for *their sakes alone*, we did not mention, but which I feel called upon now to do, viz: the manuscript was so *badly written*, that I could hardly decipher it myself, and was ashamed to give it to any compositor to set up, and I had neither the time, nor the patience to rewrite the article, covering as it did six pages of foolscap.

EDITOR COLORED AMERICAN.

THE TRENTONIANS VS. A. W.'s LETTERS.—Our readers will doubtless remember that a few weeks since, there appeared in this paper two well written communications, headed, A VISIT TO MY NATIVE CITY—and signed A. W., in which the writer, apparently from good motives, and according to the best of his judgment, gives the condition of our people in the city of Trenton. Though not so prosperous as could be wished, it was by no means so unfavorable as might be.

Some of the Trentonians, not so well pleased with the representation given, have remonstrated, and we have received four several communications, two for publication, and two remonstrating against them. The first was from a private individual, and purported to be concurred in by others, but not signed by any of them. It was rather vindictive in its spirit, and intended as a reply to personalities purporting to have been in Mr. W.'s letters, which, upon reviewing, we found they did not contain; and therefore, could not publish it. The second, approved of Mr. W.'s letter as containing the truth, and was sent to forewarn us of two meetings having been held there, in relation to the matter; the first at the close of a religious service, and giving a history of the meetings; informing us that the meeting, which adopted certain proceedings in the name of the people, consisted of 27 persons, a part of whom dissented from the proceedings, and to inform us also, that they would probably be forwarded to us for publication.—The third contained the proceedings of the meeting referred to, and was handed to us by an individual who wished a pledge from us to take back, that we would publish them, but which of course we could not give. And from the character and length of them, from the information contained in the second letter in regard to the meeting which produced them, and receiving the following morning another letter giving further information in regard to the meeting—in view of all these circumstances and statements, contradictory of each other, we felt called upon not to publish any thing having been forwarded. But, having promised the individual who waited upon us, that if we did not publish the document he placed in our hands, we would refer to it; we have thought it best to give this statement of the affair, based upon the facts as contained in these four communications, and leave the matter with those whom it concerns, washing our hands of the whole, as we could not publish things so contradictory about the same circumstance.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD

THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1841.

"The American and Foreign Society"

Was formed by "gentlemen," who could not keep company with the unmanly women and the immodest youth, who, without the warrant of beard, and legal voteship, presumed to sympathize with humanity enslaved. They could not remain with these, without disturbing their self-respect and the remaining respect of the pro-slavery world around them. It discomfited their tranquility altogether, to be outvoted by these rabble of women and children and infidels, when they tried to muzzle the Genius of Liberty on the old platform of '33. The interpretation of the word "person" in the constitution, according to its only meaning, opened the Society-door to all sorts of mankind, of anti-slavery sentiments, and in they poured to help move for the disenthralment of fettered humanity. "Persons" was an *inevitable* word. They could not draft a constitution without it. It would not do to *amend* and strike it out. That would be too direct and bold. It would shock woman, in her degraded "sphere," to be explicitly cast out. They preferred to exclude her by implication and a practical denial of her personality *in a sense*. They did not dare put *gentlemen* for "persons" in the *letter* of the constitution, but they wanted to exclude woman by interpretation and "usage." This would be borne more quietly than the other, as people will endure indirect taxes, who would revolt at a tythe the amount levied in direct form.

Anti-slavery wanted a broad word. She wanted one qualified only by principle, or the want of it. She had her eye on mankind, and not on a fraction of it. She beheld universal Humanity stricken to the ground by the demon spirit of RULE—by man turning god over his brother and his equal; and she laid her hand on a remedial word as broad as the mischief she would remedy. That word was "persons." It is in distinction from *things*. But it let in the whole deluge of humanity upon the anti-slavery arena,—men without the prerogatives of citizenship even,—on a level with the *Reverendest* and *Honorablest* of the fallen race. It let in young Humanity, all unfledged, with the bloom of life's morning on its cheek, and unhackneyed affection beaming from its eye. It let in without distinction of sex even. The girl in her teens burst in, and seated herself among the Doctors—"hearing them," if not "asking them questions"—not many Doctors, for "not many were called." Woman entered, and, in the days of personal danger, before the "property and standing" had learned the inefficacy of the mob, as an agitation-queller, her presence and voice were hailed with gratitude and enthusiasm. Her fair person was held sacred by the vandal chivalry, and yielded refuge to the mob-hunted and menaced brother. He liked its protection, and it did not occur to him to doubt the legitimacy of the inspiration it enkindled,—or to look into the question of her personality.—She readily passed current, as of the human "circulating medium."

But, as the squalls of mobocracy blew over, theological brethren of the anti-slavery society had leisure to look up their learning and resume their speculations. They discovered, that important prerogatives, which in moments of excitement and hazard had been overlooked, were at stake. In their fear, they looked at home and forgot the miserable slave. His liberation threated to involve more than they had apprehended. All that arguing against plantation slavery might bring upon them, they had been brave to encounter, and disinterested to incur; but they never had contemplated hazard to the "peculiar institutions" of the North, which, being pro-slavery from turret to foundation, would shelter slaveholding to the last, and lend their stronghold influence to brow-beat and beat down the abolitionists. They could not have these institutions imperiled. State, and its twin-sister 'church,"—these were the apple of their eye, and, though mortally pro slavery, were not to be assailed or disrespected. And when anti-slavery had proved their hostile character, and detected their influence and spirit, those "gentlemen" quailed and drew off, as they beheld anti-slavery thundering at the "institution" gates, and demanded that she raise the siege and retreat. She would not retreat, however, or slacken her beleaguer.

Anti-slavery, by the way, *may* try the country to its centre, before it has done with it. We know not where it will stay its waves, or what will survive its searching remedy. Our social machinery, how much of it can subsist unconnected with slavery, we can't conjecture, and are not careful to know. Whatever of it cannot, must take its fate.—We do hope the reform will be complete, and that every petty fortress, as well as giant Bastile of this system of unlawful domination, will be evened with the ground, and their uncouth keys be hung up in cabinet and museum, for the marvel and delight of rescued generations.

Our revolutions will be without physical convulsion. We have this vital advantage over other countries, and other times, and other revolutions. Church and State here are not constitutionally united in wedlock. We can assail the corruptions of the one, without encountering the guns of the other. They are together, but it is illicitly; they have no legitimate union. There is such an affinity, such a predisposition in them to coalesce, that they do keep company greatly. Church fancies the strong arm of the law, to enforce her maintenance, and maintain the order of her convocations; and State covets eagerly the sanctions of sister Church to hallow her sword and fire-arms. So they run together, and their temples love to tower side by side, in sustaining juxta-position. They are not married, lawfully, here; but, abroad, they are man and wife. In both cases, however, they have an offspring of violence, which leads to convulsion and bloody revolution. We assail their *cohabitation* with the weapons which are "mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds."

We demand liberty for the enslaved. We assert his manhood, and demand, *therefore*, that he have brotherhood and liberty. Slavery, through all her recesses and departments, howls at the demand. We utter it among the northern hills. The uncouth dragon gives token of his presence there, and of his alarm. He is coiled up under our seminaries, and pulpits, and "*free institutions*," like the house-adder under the rotten sleepers of old buildings—(no more rotten than the foundations of said institutions)—and we wake him in all his venom and fear. Shall we not slay the dragon wherever and in whatever form we find him? By the blessing of God, we will, though pulpits stoop to the broad aisle, and the solemn clergy cease to worship their own shadows. On the old anti-slavery bottom is the arena to work out this deliverance. Nothing is "foreign" there in the shape of humanity, nor any thing geographically "American." We welcome all mankind. It is "American" only in distinction from State limitation.

We give a hastily penned glance at the occasion and pretensions of our great national *antagonism*, the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." A desertion it is from the great battle field of Liberty—a secession from the great anti-slavery enterprise—an effort to deliver up our anti-slavery West Point to the sectarian, clerical enemy of Humanity.

John A. Collins.

This indefatigable executive of the old Massachusetts Society, has given new organization a blow under the fifth rib in England, which has led to developments that will, we think, stagger the London Committee. We are glad to see it, and we commend friend Sturge to an attentive perusal of the "vindication" put forth by the *transferring* committee. We are happy to see that "vindication" Its admissions need, of course, no *proof*. We are sorry to see the old, honored names of American Anti-Slavery compelled to be put in such a place, on such a charge. They have acted in a high-handed manner. They sold the Society's paper and property to keep the national "*Staff of Accomplishment*" in the *heroic* hands of brother Leavitt, and to raise passage money to send and bar the doors of Freemason's Hall, in London, against the tiny form of Lucretia Mott.—They succeeded. They drove that mighty little woman into the gallery; and anon, Garrison, and Remond, and Adams, were by her *excluded* side,—the complete representation of the World's Anti-Slavery, and the world's enslaved and down-trodden; and had the "Conference" held another week, O'Connell and Thompson and Bowring and Ashurst would have *up* there with them. They would have left friends Colver, Scoble and Hoby to monopolize the honors below, along with the royal, masonic highnesses who hung in gorgeous picture on the walls. They have got the Emancipator secured to brother Leavitt, too, but it will prove a barren sceptre in his grasp. The facts will out and go to Europe, and complete what the gallery position begun.

We are sorry Collins went to that Committee for funds or countenance; and sorry, too, that he thought it worth while to do any thing like concealing his voyage from the knowledge of new organization. They had no business to know it, and would be sure to send on their mischievous interposition to baffle or delay him of that portion of his mission relative to funds for the anti-slavery cause. But still, we would not have had him gone a foot to conceal it from them. The very fact of withholding knowledge of his departure from them, enabled them to cast some shade of suspicion upon the voyage. Nothing else could have done it. This comes, to be sure, with an ill grace from that quarter. *They* cannot complain that Collins had to go by New-York to England, to get there before their *benignant* interference could poison the minds of the English public against him. Still, he ought, we think, to have gone quietly aboard the Boston steamer, and let the enemy see him sail, and then do their worst. He had credentials to *all that is anti-slavery in Britain*, against which friend Colver's *seraphic* epistles could avail nothing. To the *anti-slavery* of Britain, *alone*, he should have gone, and have let the gold of the London Committee gone with the 20,000,000 sterling, to compliment the slaveholder. The anti-slavery cause don't want it. It can say to it, as the apostle said to Simon, who wanted to purchase with money, gifts that had no earthly price. Old organized anti-slavery uses no worldly wisdom—takes no worldly precaution. It leaves all this to the other side. Brother Collins should have thrown himself upon God, and knowing what new organization would do to defeat him of his expedition, gone confidently on over the sea, and there stood still and seen what God would have done to turn their counsels into foolishness, and return their iniquity upon their own pates. Poor feverish men! Oh, that they would lay aside their wicked sectarianism, and their politics and pride, and work humbly in the cause of truth and righteousness. Politics and priestcraft are the infesting, besetting vermin of the land. They are both the enemies of human liberty. They are the bane of our cause. We are compelled, as abolitionists, to denounce them as *the* incorrigible enmities of the anti-slavery enterprise. The prevalence of this enterprise will involve their discredit and shame.

The vindication is drawn in brother Birney's best style of attorneyism. It is as good a defence as a plea in abatement, or a demurrer. It is like a demurrer in that it virtually *admits the facts*. The British people will not be gratified with such a plea from their American and Foreign friends. It will be "*affecting*" to them, as Rev. Nathaniel Colver says of the "Infidel Convention," to see what a defence their *grand* friends put in. It is a sort of general issue, which amounts to a plea of guilty. Whether brother Collins brings home gold or not, we care, personally, very little. For the sake of our dear friends beyond the water, we wish them opportunity to contribute. All they give to any purpose must be spent here. They can do nothing, comparatively, there. Parliament, and Crown, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, stand in the way of the results of reform. All ends in the smoke of an act of Parliament, which performs to the ear and cheats to the heart. Parliament can always mock the people with a reformatory enactment, which leaves them where it found them. They pacify the people as Columbus did his crew when the compass failed to point them to the pole. He satisfied *them*, with a reason that did not satisfy *himself*. Here is the freest spot of earth for the play of Reform's enginery. Our transatlantic friends are with us, and the field is one. The ocean connects, instead of dividing us. We agitate here for the whole. It is their field as well as ours; and what they contribute of money or talent is not "foreign aid."—We hope they will *contribute* George Thompson next summer, and were it not for politics, they might sent us *O'Connell*. We will be content with *George Thompson* as a contribution to the funds of the old Society. Perhaps Collins may bring him along. We should like to hear the cry of his landing on the shores of Boston.

Chancellor Kent on the Side of Slavery.

It is with extreme regret that we record the opinion of the learned Chancellor of New-York in favor of the *immoral*, and *therefore* unlawful demand of the haughty Executive of the Old Dominion upon the Governor of the Empire State, for the consignment to the tender mercies of slavery of the colored men who acted the part of the Good Samaritan towards one of their brethren in bonds. *Astonished* we are not, for what (except repentance and amendment) *could* astonish us in a country which tolerates SLAVERY! We put the opinion of the modern Gamaliel upon record for the benefit of posterity, and to the shame of the present generation.

From Kent's Commentaries, vol. 1. Note to p. 37.

"The Constitution of the United States has provided for the surrender of fugitives from justice between the several states, in cases of 'treason, felony, and other crimes,' but it has not designated the specific crimes for which a surrender has been made, and this has led to difficulties, as between the states. Thus, for instance, in 1839 to the Governor of Virginia made application to the Governor of New-York for the surrender of three men, charged by affidavit as being fugitives from justice, in feloniously stealing and taking away from one Colley in Virginia a negro slave Isaac, the property of Colley. The application was made under the act of Congress of February 12, 1793, chapter 7, section 1, founded on the Constitution of the United States, Art 4, sec. 2, as being a case of treason, felony, or other crime, within the Constitution and the Law, and certified as the statute directed. The Governor of New-York refused to surrender the supposed fugitives, on the ground that slavery and property in slaves did not exist in New-York, and that the offence was not a crime known to the laws of New-York, and consequently not a crime within the meaning of the Constitution and Statute of the U. States.

The Executive and Legislative authority of Virginia, on the other hand, considered the case to be within the provision of the Constitution and the Law, and that the refusal was a denial of right. It was contended that the Constitution of the United States recognizes the lawful existence of slaves as property, for it apportions the representatives among the states on the basis of the distinction between free persons and other persons, and it provides in Art. 4, sec 2, for their surrender when escaping from one State to another; that slaves were regarded as property in nearly all the States and protected as such, and particularly in New-York, when the Constitution was made, and that the repeal of those laws and renunciations of that species of property, in one State, does not affect the validity of the laws and of that species of property in another State; and that the refusal to surrender felons, who steal that property in Virginia, and flee with it, or without it to New-York, on the ground that blacks are no longer regarded as property in New-York, is a violation of the Federal compact, and of the act of Congress thereon. This case involves very grave considerations. I have read and considered every authority, document, and argument on the subject, that were within my command, and in my humble view of the question, I cannot but be of opinion that the claim of the Governor of Virginia was well founded and entitled to be recognized and enforced."

Florida War.

The speech of Mr. Giddings, a large portion of which will be found on the first page, embodies a mass of startling facts respecting the origin of this unholy war, which ought to cover the nation with shame and confusion of face. Mr. Giddings deserves the thanks of the friends of humanity for bringing to light the disgraceful conduct of the government in relation to a contest which has involved the nation in an expense of $40,000,000, but which is now apparently no nearer its end than when it was first commenced. The people of the free States will learn, by and bye, how deeply they are involved in the expense as well as the crime of slavery, and they will shake off the infamous load which has so long impeded their enterprise and stained their moral character. May Heaven, in mercy, hasten the day!

SLAVEHOLDING DISGRACEFUL!—The Professor of Biblical literature in the Western Theological Seminary, (the Rev. Mr. Green,) who has but recently received his appointment, is said to be a slaveholder. In consequence of tois, the Beaver Presbytery very properly refused to support the institution. At the meeting of the Ohio Presbytery, some members took occasion to allude to the circumstance, but were promptly called to order, and accused of assailing the *character* (!) of the Rev. Professor! Yes—the same men who were not in the least disturbed by the knowledge that a slaveholder had been appointed as a teacher of theology, and who would probably contend that slavery is no sin, thought it "a violation of Christian principle and the laws of common decency," to allude to that which, it seems, was no objection at all to his remaining in the station! So, then, the "Divine" institution *is* disgraceful, even in the estimation of its defenders and apologists!

Case of the Amistad.

The arguments in this case, *pro* and *con*, so far as they have been reported, are now before our readers. The public are now waiting with breathless anxiety for the decision of the court, on which the lives of the Africans probably depend. We shall be able, without doubt, to announce it in our next.

LEGISLATIVE.

CONGRESS.

MONDAY, March 1.

In the Senate, on motion of Mr. Tappan,

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the removal of the Wyandot Indians from the State of Ohio.

Mr. Buchanan, asked that the Committee on Foreign Relations might be discharged from the consideration of the resolution which had been referred to that committee, "requesting the President to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, any correspondence which may have taken place between this Government and that of Great Britain relative to the North-eastern Boundary not heretofore communicated to the Senate." In the course of his remarks, he said, that the two Governments had already agreed upon the essential points of a convention based upon principles alike advantageous and honorable to both. There were still some provisions of this convention of comparatively minor importance, and involving detail rather than principle, which had not yet been agreed upon; but, if it were the sincere desire of both parties, as he believed it was, to arrive at an amicable conclusion, the negotiation must soon be successfully terminated. Under these peculiar circumstances, the committee believed that it could do no good to either party, whilst it might be embarrassing to both Governments, to publish to the world the correspondence and the different projects and counter-projects of treaties which had passed between them.

The motion to discharge the committee was agreed to.

Mr. Phelps, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, stated that the Committee had under consideration a memorial in relation to the Seneca Indians. The committee have an opinion to express on the subject in due season, but as they have understood that no appropriation is to to be asked for this session, he was directed to move that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the memorial.

The motion prevailed.

Mr. Cuthbert said that on the resignation of the late Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) he had charged upon that Senator certain opinions on the subject of Southern institutions. This had led to a discussion, in the course of which he (Mr. C.) had pledged himself to prove certain points. The most important point was, that Mr. Webster had avowed the doctrine that Congress had full power to prohibit the slave trade between the States. The next point was, that the Legislature of Massachusetts had maintained the same doctrines, and quoted the opinions of that Senator (Mr. Webster) to sustain them. He had pledged himself to produce the document to support and justify the charge.

After some discussion upon a point order raised by Mr. Phelps,

Mr. Cuthbert desired the clerk to read an extract from a paper which he sent to the desk. It purported to be a memorial, drawn up by a committe of which Mr. Webster was a member. The memorial expressed the opinion that Congress had the power to prohibit the slave trade between the States.

Mr. Cuthbert then animadverted upon the remark made by Mr. Clay, complimentary to Mr. Webster, and spoke of three great crises in the history of the two gentlemen when they differed in opinion. The first crisis was the late war with Great Britain. Was there then any unity of action between the two Senators?

The next crisis was when the South undertook to resist an oppresive tariff. The gentlemen had divided on that question. The gentleman from Massachusetts had gone against the compromise. When it was compromise or war that gentleman had sternly refused his assent to the measure.

The third crises was when the Senators of the North were pressing the subject of abolition upon Congress. Then the gentleman from Massachusetts was opposed to the Senator from Kentucky. When it was all-important to have a unanimous vote of the Senate, the discordant voice of the gentleman from Massachusetts was always heard in opposition to the majority.

Mr. Clay regretted extremely that he had been called out in this way. The discussion of the other day had, he ventured to say, satisfied every member of that body, with the exception of the Senator from Georgia. He agreed with the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Phelps) that it was all out of order. There was no necessity to create an occasion for the discussion. The distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts was soon to be nominated to that body, and then would be the proper time to bring out all the opposition to him. But the Senator from Georgia had appealed to the courtesy of gentlemen, and he (Mr. Clay) was not willing to refuse the request.

No error could be greater than to judge of human character by a single act, a single sentiment or opinion. We were not to expect perfect coincidence in every thing abstract and practical.

Mr. Cuthbert here addressed the Chair.

Mr. Clay said: I cannot be interrupted, Mr President. I will not permit an interruption. The practice is much too common, and especially at the other end of the Capitol. The Senator from Georgia will have ample opportunity to reply when I have concluded. What was the question?—what the object of difference in the discussion? The Senator from Georgia alleges that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts has expressed an opinion—in Faneuil Hall, it was believed—that Congress had the power to regulate the trade in slaves between the States. On this subject great diversity of opinion exists. The power to regulate did not imply the power to prohibit. Congress possessed the power to regulate foreign commerce but it had no right to prohibit it.

The Senator from Georgia had referred to three subjects in which he (Mr. Clay) had differed with the gentleman from Massachusetts. * * * As it regarded abolition, so far as he (Mr. Clay) knew the opinions of Mr. Webster, he was just as much averse to it as the Senator from Georgia himself. That there was danger impending, no one would deny. The danger was in ultraism. The ultraism of a portion of the South on the one hand, and from abolition on the other. It was to be averted by a moderate, but firm course; not being led off into extremes, on the one side, or frightened on the other. Mr. Webster and himself (Mr. Clay said) had differed on some subjects, had coincided on others; and the Senator from Georgia might have referred to an instance in which he himself had voted with Mr. Webster, and in opposition to him, (Mr. Clay.) He alluded to the tariff of 1824. The substance of the charge was, that Mr. Webster and himself (Mr. Clay) had agreed on certain matters, and disagreed on others; and if the Senator from Georgia should undertake to compute the several agreements, and disagreements he would have to work out a more difficult problem than a friend of Mr. Clay's in the other House, who had tried to ascertain whether Vermont or Kentucky was the banner State.

Mr. Cuthbert said there was nothing in the remarks of the Senator from Kentucky that was worthy of reply. If the debate on the nomination of Mr. Webster was to be public, there would have been some force in what had been said on that point.

Mr. Rives had not intended to take part in the discussion, but he desired to prevent the possibility of any misconstruction of the language he had used the other day. He had made no issue with the Senator from Georgia in regard to the opinions of Mr. Webster. He had merely said

pression of the highest estimate I place on the honor which they have conferred upon me. To occupy the seat which has been filled and adorned—to say nothing of my more immediate predecessors—by an Adams, a Jefferson, a Gerry, a Clinton, and a Tompkins, names that, although belonging to the dead, still live in the recollection of a grateful country, is an honor of which any man would have just cause to be proud. But this honor is greatly augmented by the consideration of the true character of this body—by the high order of moral and intellectual power which has distinguished it in all past time, and which still distinguishes it—by the dignity which has, for the most part, marked its proceedings, and, above all, by the important duties which have devolved upon it under the Constitution. Here are to be found the immediate representatives of the States, by whose sovereign will the Government has been spoken into existence. Here exists that perfect equality among the members of this Confederacy which gives to the smallest State in the Union a voice as potential, as that of the largest. To this body is committed, in an eminent degree, the trust of guarding and protecting the institutions handed down to us from our fathers, as well against the waves of popular and rash impulses on the one hand, as against attempts at the Executive encroachment on the other. It may properly be regarded as holding the balance in which are weighed the powers conceded to this Government and the rights reserved to the States and to the People. It is its province to concede what has been granted—to withhold what has been denied, thus in all its features exhibiting a true type of the glorious Confederacy under which it is our happiness to live. Should the spirit of faction—that destructive spirit which recklessly walks over prostrate rights, and tramples laws and constitutions in the dust—ever find an abiding place within this Hall, then indeed will a sentence of condemnation be issued against the peace and happiness of this people, and their political institutions be made to topple to their foundations. But while this body shall continue to be what by its framers it was designed to be, deliberative in its character, unbiassed in its course, and independent in its action, then may Liberty be regarded as entrenched in safety behind the sacred ramparts of the Constitution.

While I occupy this chair, Senators, I shall have frequent occasion to invoke your indulgence for my defects, and your charity for my errors. I am but little skilled in Parliamentary law, and have been unused to preside over deliberative assemblies. All that I can urge in excuse of my defects is, that I bring with me to this chair an earnest wish to discharge properly its duties, and a fixed determination to preside over your deliberations with entire impartiality.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT,

By and with the consent of the Senate.

Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to be Secretary of State.

Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

John Bell, of Tennessee, to be Secretary of War.

George E. Badger, of North Carolina, to be Secretary of the Navy.

John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to be Attorney General.

Francis Granger, of New-York, to be Post Master General.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Inaugural Address of President Harrison.

Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life, to fill the Chief Executive office of this great and free nation, I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oaths which the Constitution prescribes, as a necessary qualification for the performance of its duties. And in obedience to a custom coeval with our government, and what I believe to be your expectations, I proceed to present to you a summary of the principles which will govern me in the discharge of the duties which I shall be called upon to perform.

It was the remark of a Roman Consul, in an early period of that celebrated republic, that a most striking contrast was observable in the conduct of candidates for offices of power and trust, before and after obtaining them—they seldom carrying out in the latter case the pledges and promises made in the former. However much the world may have improved, in many respects, in the lapse of upwards of two thousand years since the remark was made by the virtuous and indignant Roman, I fear that a strict examination of the annals of some of the modern elective governments, would develop similar instances of violated confidence.

Although the fiat of the people has gone forth, proclaiming me the Chief Magistrate of this glorious Union, nothing upon their part remaining to be done, it may be thought that a motive may exist to keep up the delusion under which they may be supposed to have acted in relation to my principles and opinions; and perhaps there may be some in this assembly who have come here either prepared to condemn those I shall now deliver, or, approving them, to doubt the sincerity with which they are uttered. But the lapse of a few months will confirm or dispel their fears. The outline of principles to govern, and measures to be adopted, by an Administration not yet begun, will soon be exchanged for immutable history; and I shall stand, either exonerated by my countrymen, or classed with the mass of those who promised that they might deceive, and flattered with the intention to betray.

However strong may be my present purpose to realize the expectations of a magnanimous and confiding people, I too well understand the infirmities of human nature, and the dangerous temptations to which I shall be exposed, from the magnitude of the power which it has been the pleasure of the people to commit to my hands, not to place my chief confidence upon the aid of that Almighty Power which has hitherto protected me, and enabled me to bring to favorable issues other important, but still greatly inferior trusts, heretofore confided to me by my country.

The broad foundation upon which our Constitution rests, being the people—a breath of theirs having made, as a breath can unmake, change, or modify it—it can be assigned to none of the great divisions of government but to that of Democracy. If such is its theory, those who are called upon to administer it must recognize, as its leading principle, the duty of shaping their measures so as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number. But with these broad admissions, if we would compare the sovereignty acknowledged to exist in the mass of our people with the power claimed by other sovereignties, even by those who have been considered most purely Democratic, we shall find a most essential difference. All others lay claim to power limited only by their own will. The majority of our citizens, on the contrary, possess a sovereignty with an amount of power precisely equal to that which has been granted to them by the parties to the national compact, and nothing beyond. We admit of no government by divine right—believing that, so far as power is concerned, the beneficent Creator has made no distinction amongst men, that all are upon an equality, and the only legitimate right to govern is an express grant of power from the governed. The Constitution of the United States is the instrument containing this grant of power to the several departments composing the government. On an examination of that instrument, it will be found to contain declarations of power granted, and of power withheld. The latter is also susceptible of division; into power which the majority had the right to grant, but which they did not think proper to intrust to their agents and that which they could not have granted, not being possessed by themselves. In other words, there are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen, which, in his compact with the others, he has never surrendered. Some of them, indeed, he is unable to surrender, being, in the language of our system, unalienable.

The boasted privilege of a Roman citizen was to him a shield only against a petty provincial ruler, whilst the proud democrat of Athens could console himself under a sentence of death, for a supposed violation of the national faith, which no one understood, and which at times was the subject of the mockery of all, or of banishment from his home, his family, and his country, with or without an alleged cause; that it was the act, not of a single tyrant, or hated aristocracy, but of his assembled countrymen. Far different is the power of our sovereignty. It can interfere with no one's faith, prescribes forms of worship for no one's observance, inflicts no punishment but after well ascertained guilt, the result of investigation under rules prescribed by the Constitution itself. These precious privileges, and those scarcely less important, of giving expression to his thoughts and opinions, either by writing or speaking, unrestrained but by the liability for injury to others, and that of a full participation in all the advantages which flow from the government, the acknowledged property of all, the American citizen derives from no charter granted by his fellow-man. He claims them because he is himself a man, fashioned by the same Almighty hand as the rest of his species, and entitled to a full share of the blessings with which he has endowed them.

Notwithstanding the limited sovereignty possessed by the people of the United States, and the restricted grant of power to the government which they have adopted, enough has been given to accomplish all the objects for which it was created. It has been found powerful in war, and, hitherto, justice has been administered, an intimate union effected, domestic tranquillity preserved, and personal liberty secured to the citizen. As was to be expected, however, from the defect of language, and the necessarily sententious manner in which the Constitution is written, disputes have arisen as to the amount of power which it has actually granted, or was intended to grant. This is more particularly the case in relation to that part of the instrument which treats of the legislative branch. And not only as regards the exercise of powers claimed under a general clause, giving that body the authority to pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the specified powers, but in relation to the latter also. It is, however, consolatory to reflect, that *most* of the instances of alleged departure from the letter or spirit of the Constitution, have ultimately received the sanction of a majority of the people. And the fact, that many of our statesmen, most distinguished for talent and patriotism, have been, at one time or other of their political career, on both sides of each of the most warmly disputed questions, forces upon us the inference that the errors, if errors there were, are attributable to the intrinsic difficulty, in many instances, of ascertaining the intentions of the framers of the Constitution, rather than the influence of any sinister or unpatriotic motive.

But the great danger to our institutions does not appear to me to be in a usurpation, by the government, of power not granted by the people, but by the accumulation, in one of the departments, of that which was assigned to others. Limited as are the powers which have been granted, still enough have been granted to constitute a despotism, if concentrated in one of the departments. This danger is greatly heightened, as it has been always observable that men are less jealous of encroachments of one department upon another, than upon their own reserved rights.

When the Constitution of the U. S. first came from the hands of the Convention which formed it, many of the sternest republicans of the day were alarmed at the extent of the power which had been granted to the Federal Government, and more particularly of that portion which had been assigned to the Executive branch. There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative Democracy or Republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when exercised by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But, as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures, and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the government to its pristine health and vigor, as far as this can be effected by any legitimate exercise of the power placed in my hands.

I proceed to state, in as summary a manner as I can, my opinion of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the correctives which may be applied. Some of the former are unquestionably to be found in the defects of the Constitution; others, in my judgment, are attributable to a misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the eligibility of the same individual to a second term of the Presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error, and attempts have been made, hitherto without success, to apply the amendatory power of the States to its correction.

As, however, one mode of correction is in the power of every President, and consequently in mine, it would be useless, and perhaps invidious, to enumerate the evils of which, in the opinion of many of our fellow-citizens, this error of the sages who framed the Constitution may have been the source, and the bitter fruits which we are still to gather from it, if it continues to disfigure our system. It may be observed, however, as a general remark, that Republics can commit no greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in their systems of government which may be calculated to create or increase the love of power, in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs. And, surely, nothing is more likely to produce such a state of mind than the long continuance of an office of high trust. Nothing can be more corrupting, nothing more destructive of all those noble feelings which belong to the character of a devoted republican patriot.—When this corrupting passion once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gold, it becomes insatiable. It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, grows with his growth, and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this is true, it is the part of wisdom for a republic to limit the service of that officer, at least, to whom she has intrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal—the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the Constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid to it, by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that, under no circumstances, will I consent to serve a second term.

But if there is danger to public liberty from the acknowledged defects of the Constitution, in the want of limit to the continuance of the Executive power in the same hands, there is, I apprehend, not much less from a misconstruction of that instrument, as it regards the powers actually given. I cannot conceive that, by a fair construction, any or either of its provisions would be found to constitute the President a part of the legislative power. It cannot be claimed from the power to recommend, since, although enjoined as a duty upon him, it is a privilege which he holds in common with every other citizen. And although there may be something more of confidence in the propriety of the measures recommended in the one case than in the other, in the obligations of ultimate decision there can be no difference. In the language of the Constitution, "all the legislative powers," which it grants "are vested in the Congress of the United States." It would be a solecism in language to say that any portion of these is not included in the whole.

It may be said, indeed, that the Constitution has given to the Executive the power to annul the acts of the legislative body by refusing to them his assent. So a similar power has necessarily resulted from that instrument to the Judiciary; and yet the Judiciary forms no part of the Legislature. There is, it is true, this difference between these grants of power: the executive can put his negative upon the acts of the Legislature for other cause than that of want of conformity to the Constitution, whilst the Judiciary can only declare void those which violate that instrument. But the decision of the Judiciary is final in such a case, whereas, in every instance where the veto of the Executive is applied, it may be overcome by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress.

The negative upon the acts of the Legislative, by the Executive authority, and that in the hands of one individual, would seem to be an incongruity in our system. Like some others of a similar character, however, it appears to be highly expedient; and if used only with the forbearance, and in the spirit which was intended by its authors, it may be productive of great good, and be found one of the best safe-guards to the Union. At the period of the formation of the Constitution, the principal does not appear to have enjoyed much favor in the State Governments. It existed but in two, and in one of these there was a plural Executive. If we would search for the motives which operated upon the purely patriotic and enlightened assembly which framed the Constitution, for the adoption of a provision so apparently repugnant to the leading democratic principle, that the majority should govern, we must reject the idea that they anticipated from it any benefit to the ordinary course of legislation. They knew too well the high degree of intelligence which existed among the People, and the enlightened character of the State Legislatures, not to have the fullest confidence that the two bodies elected by them would be worthy representatives of such constituents, and, of course, that they would require no aid in conceiving and maturing the measures which the circumstances of the country might require.

And it is preposterous to suppose that a thought could for a moment have been entertained, that the President, placed at the Capital, in the centre of the country, could better understand the wants and wishes of the people than their own immediate representatives, who spend a part of every year among them, living with them, often laboring with them, and bound to them by the triple tie of interest, duty and affection. To assist or control Congress, then, in its ordinary legislation, could not, I conceive, have been the motive for conferring the veto power on the President. This argument acquires additional force from the fact of its never having been thus used by the first six Presidents—and two of them were members of the Convention, one presiding over its deliberations, and the other having a larger share in consummating the labors of that august body than any other person. But if bills were never returned to Congress by either of the Presidents above referred to, upon the ground of their being inexpedient, or not as well adapted as they might be to the wants of the People, the veto was applied upon that of want of conformity to the Constitution, or because errors had been committed from a too hasty enactment.

There is another ground for the adoption of the Veto principle, which had probably more influence in recommending it to the convention than any other. I refer to the security which it gives to the just and equitable action of the Legislature upon all parts of the Union. It could not but have occurred to the convention that, in a country so extensive, embracing so great a variety of soil and climate, and, consequently, of products, and which, from the same causes, must ever exhibit a great difference in the amount of the population of its various sections, calling for a great diversity in the employments of the People, that the legislation of the majority might not always justly regard the rights and interests of the minority. And that acts of this character might be passed, under an express grant by the words of the Constitution, and, therefore, not within the competency of the Judiciary to declare void. That however enlightened and patriotic they might suppose, from past experience, the members of Congress might be, and however largely partaking in the general, of the liberal feelings of the People, it was impossible to expect that bodies so constituted should not sometimes be controlled by local interests and sectional feelings. It was proper, therefore, to provide some umpire, from whose situation and mode of appointment more independence and freedom from such influences might be expected. Such a one was afforded by the Executive department, constituted by the Constitution.

A person elected to that high office, having his constituents in every section, State, and sub-division of the Union, must consider himself bound by the most solemn sanctions, to guard, protect, and defend the rights of all, and of every portion, great or small, from the injustice and oppression of the rest. I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the constitution to the Executive of the United States, solely as a conservative power. To be used only, 1st, to protect the Constitution from violation: 2dly, the People from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded or not well understood; and, 3dly, to prevent the effects of combinations violative of the rights of minorities. In reference to the second of these objects, I may observe that, I consider it the right and privilege of the People to decide disputed points of the Constitution, arising from the general grant of power to Congress to carry into effect the powers expressly given. And I believe, with Mr. Madison, "that repeated recognitions under varied circumstances, in acts of the legislative, executive, and Judicial branches of the Government, accompanied by indications in different modes of the concurrence of the general will of the nation, as affording to the President sufficient authority for his considering such disputed points as settled."

Upwards of half a century has elapsed since the adoption of our present form of government. It would be an object more highly desirable than the gratification of the curiosity of speculative statesmen, if its precise situation could be ascertained, a fair exhibit made of the operations of each of its Departments, of the powers which they respectively claim and exercise, of the collisions which have occurred between them, or between the whole Government and those of the States, or either of them. We could then compare our actual condition, after fifty years' trial of our system, with what it was in the commencement of its operations, and ascertain whether the predictions of the patriots who opposed its adoption, or the confident hopes of its advocates, have been best realized. The great dread of the former seems to have been, that the reserved powers of the States would be absorbed by those of the Federal Government, and a consolidated power established, leaving to the states the shadow only, of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended, and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of Liberty. Without denying that the result to which they looked with so much apprehension is in the way of being realized, it is obvious that they did not clearly see the mode of its accomplishment. The General Government has seized upon none of the reserved rights of the States. As far as any open warfare may have gone, the State authorities have amply maintained their rights. To a casual observer, our system presents no appearance of discord between the different members which compose it.—Even the addition of many new ones has produced no jarring. They move in their respective orbits in perfect harmony with the central head, and with each other. But there is still an under current at work, by which, if not seasonably checked, the worst apprehensions of our anti-federal patriots will be realized. And not only will the State authorities be overshadowed by the great increase of power in the Executive Department of the General Government, but the character of that Government, if not its designation, be essentially and radically changed. This state of things has been in part effected by causes inherent in the Constitution, and in part by the never-failing tendency of political power to increase itself. By making the President the sole distributor of all the patronage of the Government, the framers of the Constitution do not appear to have anticipated at how short a period it would become a formidable instrument to control the free operations of the State Governments.—Of trifling importance at first, it had, early in Mr. Jefferson's administration become so powerful as to create great alarm in the mind of that patriot, from the potent influence it might exert in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise. It such could then have been the effects of its influence, how much greater must be the danger at this time, quadrupled in amount, as it certainly is, and more completely under the control of the Executive will, than their construction of their powers allowed, or the forbearing characters of all the early Presidents permitted them to make! But it is not by the extent of its patronage alone that the Executive Department has become dangerous, but by the use which it appears to have made of the appointing power, to bring under its control the whole revenues of the country. The Constitution has declared it to be the duty of the President to see that the laws are executed, and it makes him the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies and Navy of the United States. If the opinion of the most approved writer upon that species of mixed Government, which, in modern Europe, is termed *Monarchy*, in contradistinction to *Despotism*, is correct, there was wanting no other addition to the powers of our Chief Magistrate to stamp a monarchical character onour Government, but the control of the public finances. And to me it appears strange, indeed, that any one should doubt that the entire control which the President possesses over the officers who have the custody of the public money, by the power of removal with or without cause, does, for all mischievous purposes at least, virtually subject the treasure also to his disposal. The first Roman Emperor, in his attempt to seize the sacred treasure, silence the opposition of the officer to whose charge it had been committed, by a significant allusion to his sword. By a selection of political instruments for the care of the public money, a reference to their commissions by a President, would be quite as effectual an argument as that of Cæsar to the Roman Knight.

I am not insensible of the great difficulty that exists in devising a proper plan for the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public revenues, and I know the importance which has been attached by men of great abilities and patriotism to the divorce, as it is called, of the Treasury from the banking institutions. It is not the divorce which is complained of, but the unhallowed union of the Treasury with the Executive Department which has created such extensive alarm. To this danger to our republican institutions, and that created by the influence given to the Executive through the instrumentality of the federal officers, I propose to apply all the remedies which may be at my command.—It was certainly a great error in the framers of the Constitution, not to have made the officer at the head of the Treasury Department entirely independent of the Executive. He should at least have been removable only upon the demand of the popular branch of the Legislature. I have determined never to remove a Secretary of the Treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress. The influence of the Executive in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise through the medium of the public officers can be effectually checked by renewing the prohibition published by Mr. Jefferson, forbidding their interference in elections further than giving their own votes; and their own independence secured by an assurance of perfect immunity, in exercising this sacred privilege of freemen under the dictates of their own unbiassed judgments. Never, with my consent, shall an officer of the People, compensated for his services out of their pockets, become the pliant instrument of Executive will.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the Executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. The maxim, which our ancestors derived from the mother country, that "the freedom of the press is the great bulwark of civil and religious liberty," is one of the most precious legacies which they have left us. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretence imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of Despotism. The presses in the necessary employment of the Government should never be used "to clear the guilty, or to varnish crimes." A decent and manly examination of the acts of the Government should be not only tolerated but encouraged.

Upon another occasion I have given my opinion at some length, upon the impropriety of Executive interference in the legislation of Congress. That the article in the Constitution making it the duty of the President to communicate information, and authorizing him to recommend measures, was not intended to make him the source of legislation, and, in particular that he should never be looked to for schemes of finance. It would be very strange, indeed, that the Constitution should have strictly forbidden one branch of the Legislature from interfering in the origination of such bills, and that it should be considered proper that an altogether different department of the Government should be permitted to do so. Some of our best political maxims and opinions have been drawn from our parent Isle. There are others, however, which cannot be introduced in our system without singular incongruity, and the production of much mischief. And this I conceive to be one. No matter in which of the Houses of Parliament a bill may originate, nor by whom introduced, a minister, or a member of the opposition, by the fiction of law, or rather of Constitutional principle, the Sovereign is supposed to have prepared it agreeably to his will, and then submitted it to Parliament for their advice and consent.

Now, the very reverse is the case here, not only with regard to the principle, but the forms prescribed by the Constitution. The principle certainly assigns to the only body constituted by the Constitution (the legislative body,) the power to make laws, and the forms even direct that the enactments should be ascribed to them. The Senate, in relation to Revenue bills, have the right to propose amendments; and so has the Executive, by the power given him to return them to the House of Representatives, with his objections. It is in his power, also, to propose amendments in the existing revenue laws, suggested by his observations upon their defective or injurious operation. But the delicate duty of devising schemes of revenue should be left where the Constitution has placed it—with the immediate representatives of the People. For similar reasons, the mode of keeping the public treasure should be prescibed by them; and the farther removed it may be from the control of the Executive, the more wholesome the arrangement, and the more in accordance with Republican principle.

Connected with this subject is the character of the currency: The idea of making it exclusively metallic, however well intended, appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme, having no relation to the personal rights of the citizen, that has ever been devised. If any single scheme could produce the effect of arresting, at once, that mutation of condition by which thousands of our most indigent fellow-citizens, by their industry and enterprise, are raised to the possession of wealth, that is the one. If there is one measure better calculated than another to produce that state of things so much deprecated by all true republicans, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and the poor sinking deeper into penury, it is an exclusive metallic currency. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase and necessary toleration of usury, it is an exclusive metallic currency.

Amongst the other duties of a delicate character which the President is called upon to perform, is the supervision of the government of the Territories of the United States. Those of them which are destined to become members of our great political family, are compensated by their rapid progress from infancy to manhood, for the partial and temporary deprivation of their political rights. It is in this District, only, where American citizens are to be found, who, under a settled system of policy, are deprived of many important political privileges, without any inspiring hope as to the future. Their only consolation, under circumstances of such deprivation, is that of the devoted exterior guards of a camp—that their sufferings secure tranquility and safety within. Are there any of their countrymen who would subject them to greater sacrifices, to any other humiliations than those essentially necessary to the security of the object for which they were thus separated from their fellow-citizens? Are their rights alone not to be guarantied by the application of those great principles, upon which all our constitions are founded? We are told by the greatest of British Orators and Statesmen, that, at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, the most stupid men in England spoke of "their American subjects." Are there, indeed citizens of any of our States who have dreamed *of their subjects* in the District of Columbia? Such dreams can never be realized by any agency of mine.

The people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the States, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the Constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. If there is any thing in the great principles of unalienable rights, so emphatically insisted upon in our Declaration of Independence, they could neither make, nor the United States accept, a surrender of their liberties, and become the *subjects*, in other words, the slaves, of their former fellow-citizens. If this be true, and it will scarcely be denied by any one who has a correct idea of his own rights as an American citizen, the grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia, can be interpreted, so far as respects the aggregate people of the United States, as meaning nothing more than to allow to Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the General Government by the Constitution. In all other respects the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests.

I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the respective Departments of the Government, as well as all the other authorities of our country, within their appropriate orbits. This is a matter of difficulty in some cases, as the powers which they respectively claim are often not defined by very distinct lines. Mischievous, however, in their tendencies as collisions of this kind may be, those which arise between the respective communities, which for certain purposes compose one nation, are much more so; for no such nation can long exist without the careful culture of those feelings of confidence and affection which are the effective bonds of union between free and confederated States. Strong as is the tie of interest it has been often found ineffectual. Men, blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the suggestions of policy. The alternative then, is, to destroy or keep down a bad passion by creating and fostering a good one; and this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our government. The cement which was to bind it, and perpetuate its existence, was the affectionate attachment between all its members. To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of sufferings and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all. No participation in any good, possessed by any member of an extensive confederacy, except in domestic government, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of any other, and successively of the whole. The lines, too, separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one State from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each State unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they may claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as the citizen of two separate States, and he is therefore positively precluded from any interference with the reserved powers of any State, but that of which he is, for the time being a citizen. He may indeed offer to the citizens of other States his advice as to their management, and the form in which it is tendered is left to his own discretion and sense of propriety.

It may be observed, however, that organized associations of citizens, requiring compliance with their wishes, too much resemble the *recommendations* of Athens to her allies—supported by an armed and powerful fleet. It was, indeed, to the ambition of the leading States of Greece to control the domestic concerns of the others, that the destruction of that celebrated confederacy, and subsequently of all its members, is mainly to be attributed. And it is owing to the absence of that spirit that the Helvetic confederacy has for so many years been preserved. Never has there been seen in the institutions of the separate members of any confederacy more elements of discord. In the principles and forms of government and religion, as well as in the circumstances of the several cantons, so marked a discrepance was observable, as to promise any thing but harmony in their intercourse or permanency in their alliance. And yet, for ages, neither has been interrupted. Content with the positive benefits which their union produced, with the independence and safety from foreign aggression which it secured, these sagacious People respected the institutions of each other, however repugnant to their own principles and prejudices.

Our Confederacy, fellow-citizens, can only be preserved by the same forbearance. Our citizens must be content with the exercise of the powers with which the Constitution clothes them. The attempt of those of one State to control the domestic institutions of another, can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, the certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our Confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and principles governing a common copartnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised under the direction of the joint councils of the allied members, but that which has been reserved by the individual members is intangible by the common government or the individual members composing it. To attempt it finds no support in the principles of our Constitution. It should be our constant and earnest endeavor mutually to cultivate a spirit of concord and harmony among the various parts of our Confederacy. Experience has abundantly taught us that the agitation by citizens of one part of the Union of a subject not confided to the General Government, but exclusively under the guardianship of the local authorities, is productive of no other consequences than bitterness, alienation, discord, and injury to the very cause which is intended to be advanced. Of all the great interests, which appertain to our country, that of union, cordial, confiding, fraternal union, is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guaranty of all others.

In consequence of the embarrassed state of business and the currency, some of the States, may meet with difficulty in their financial concerns. However deeply we may regret any thing imprudent or excessive in the engagements into which States have entered for purposes of their own, it does not become us to disparage the State Governments, nor to discourage them from making proper efforts for their own relief; on the contrary, it is our duty to encourage them, to the extent of our constitutional authority, to apply their best means, and cheerfully to make all necessary sacrifices and submit to all necessary burdens to fulfill their engagements and maintain their credit; for the character and credit of the several States form part of the character and credit of the whole country. The resources of the country are abundant, the enterprise and activity of our people proverbial; and we may well hope that wise legislation and prudent administration by the respective Governments, each acting within its own sphere, will restore former prosperity.

Unpleasant and even dangerous as collisions may sometimes be, between the constituted authorities or the citizens of our country, in relation to the lines which separate their respective jurisdictions, the results can be of no vital injury to our institutions, if that ardent patriotism, that devoted attachment to liberty, that spirit of moderation and forbearance for which our countrymen were once distinguished, continue to be cherished. If this continues to be the ruling pass.on of our souls, the weaker feelings of the mistaken enthusiast will be corrected, the Utopian dreams of the scheming politician dissipated, and the complicated intrigues of the demagogue rendered harmless. The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions may receive. On the contrary, no care that can be used in the construction of our Government; no division of powers, no distribution of checks in its several departments, will prove effectual to keep us a free People, if this spirit is suffered to decay; and decay it will without constant nurture. To the neglect of this duty, the best historians agree in attributing the ruin of all the Republics with whose existence and fall their writings have made us acquainted. The same causes will ever produce the same effects; and as long as the love of power is a dominant passion of the human bosom, and as long as the understandings of men can be warped and their affections changed by operations upon their passions and prejudices, so long will the liberty of a people depend on their own constant attention to its preservation. The danger to all well-established free governments arises from the unwillingness of the People to believe in its existence, or from the influence of designing men, diverting their attention from the quarter whence it approaches, to a source from which it can never come. This is the old trick of those who would usurp the government of their country. In the name of Democracy they speak, warning the People against the influence of wealth and the danger of aristocracy. History, ancient and modern, is full of such examples.—Cæsar became the master of the Roman people and the Senate under the pretence of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the aristocracy of the latter; Cromwell, in the character of protector of the liberties of the People, became the dictator of England; and Bolivar possessed himself of unlimited power, with the title of his country's Liberator. There is, on the contrary, no single instance on record of an extensive and well established republic being changed into an aristocracy. The tendencies of all such governments in their decline is to monarchy; and the antagonist principle to liberty there is the spirit of faction—a spirit which assumes the character, and, in times of great excitement, imposes itself upon the People as the genuine spirit of freedom, and like the false Christs whose coming was foretold by the Saviour, seeks to, and were it possible would impose upon the true and most faithful disciples of liberty.

It is in periods like this that it behooves the people to be most watchful of those to whom they have intrusted power. And although there is at times much difficulty in distinguishing the false from the true spirit, a calm and dispassionate investigation will detect the counterfeit as well by the character of its operations, as the results that are produced. The true spirit of liberty, although devoted, perservering, bold, and uncompromising in principle, that secured, is mild and tolerant and scrupulous as to the means it employs; whilst the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant, and totally reckless as to the character of the allies which it brings to the aid of its cause. When the genuine spirit of liberty animates the body of a people to a thorough examination of their affairs, it leads to the excision of every excrescence which may have fastened itself upon any of the departments of the government, and restores the system to its pristine health and beauty. But the reign of an intolerant spirit of party amongst a free people, seldom fails to result in a dangerous accession to the Executive power introduced and established amidst unusual professions of devotion to democracy.

The foregoing remarks relate almost exclusively to matters connected with our domestic concerns. It may be proper, however, that I should give some indications to my fellow-citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them, therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation; and that, although, of course, not well informed as to the state of any pending negotiations with any of them, I see in the personal characters of the Sovereigns, as well, as in the mutual interest of our own and of the Governments with which our relations are most intimate, a pleasing guaranty that the harmony so important to the interests of their subjects, as well as to our citizens, will not be interrupted by the advancement of any claim, or pretension upon their part to which our honor would not permit us to yield.—Long the defender of my country's rights in the field, I trust that my fellow-citizens will not see in my earnest desire to preserve peace with foreign Powers any indication that their rights will ever be sacrificed, or the honor of the nation tarnished, by any admission on the part of their Chief Magistrate unworthy of their former glory.

In our intercourse with our Aboriginal neighbors, the same liberality and justice, which marked the course prescribed to me by two of my illustrious predecessors, when acting under their direction in the discharge of the duties of Superintendent and Commissioner, shall be strictly observed. I can conceive of no more sublime spectacle—none more likely to propitiate an impartial and common Creator, than a rigid adherence to the principles of justice on the part of a powerful nation in its transactions with a weaker and uncivilized people, whom circumstances have placed at its disposal.

Before concluding, fellow-citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country. To me it appears perfectly clear, that the interest of that country requires that the violence of the spirit by which those parties are at this time governed, must be greatly mitigated, if not entirely extinguished, or consequences will ensue which are apalling to be thought of. If parties in a Republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that, they become destructive of public virtue, the parents of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty, and, eventually, its inevitable conqueror.

We have examples of Republics, where the love of country and of liberty, at one time, were the dominant passions of the whole mass of citizens. And yet, with the continuance of the name and forms of free government, not a vestige of these qualities remaining in the bosom of any one of its citizens. It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer, that "in the Roman Senate, Octavius had a party, and Anthony a party, but the Commonwealth had none." Yet the Senate continued to meet in the Temple of Liberty, to talk of the sacredness and beauty of the Commonwealth, and gaze at the statues of the elder Brutuses and of the Curtii and Decii. And the people assembled in the forum, not as in the days of Camillus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual Magistrates or pass upon the acts of the Senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders of the respective parties their share of the spoils, and to shout for one, or the other, as those collected in Gaul, or Egypt, and the lesser Asia, would furnish the larger dividend. The spirit of liberty had fled, and avoiding the abodes of civilized man, had sought protection in the wilds of Scythia or Scandinavia; and so, under the operation of the same causes and influences, it will fly from our Capitol and our forums.

A calamity so awful, not only to our country but to the world, must be deprecated by every patriot; and every tendency to a state of things likely to produce it immediately checked. Such a tendency has existed—does exist. Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me, that there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views, selfish in its object. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few, even to the destruction of the interests of the whole. The entire remedy is with the People. Something, however, may be effected by the means which they have placed in my hands. It is union that we want, not of a party for the sake of that party, but a union of the whole country for the sake of the whole country—for the defence of its interests and its honor against foreign aggression, for the defence of those principles for which our ancestors so gloriously contended. As far as it depends upon me, it shall be accomplished. All the influence that I possess, shall be exerted to prevent the formation at least of an Executive party in the halls of the Legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgment and his sense of duty to those from whom he holds his appointment; nor any confidence in advance from the People, but that asked for by Mr. Jefferson, "to give firmness and effect to the legal administration of their affairs."

I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow-citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion, and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility, are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness; and to that good Being who has blessed us by the gifts of civil and religious freedom, who watched over and prospered the labors of our Fathers, and has hitherto preserved to us institutions far exceeding in excellence those of any other people, let us unite in fervently commending every interest of our beloved country in all future time.

Fellow-citizens: Being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station, according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous People.

ITEMS.

The Case of McLeod.—Capt. Drew, who commanded the party that destroyed the Caroline, is, we believe, now in England, with the expectation of receiving a title, or something else as a reward for his *achievement!* The Earl of Mountcashel, in the House of Lords, Feb. the 8th, said he had conversed with Capt Drew, and "that officer stated that Mr. McLeod was not one of the 45 who attacked the Caroline. It was, he believed, ascertained that Mr. McLeod was on shore acting, as he had a perfect right to do, as one of the militia for the preservation of his own property, and of the peace of his own country. He was doing his duty, and obeying the command of his superiors." This agrees with the statement of Argus McLeod, (brother of Alexander, who is in jail at Lockport,) and will probably turn out to be the fact. At least we hope so: for in this case, McLeod will of course be acquitted, and thus the bad feeling occasioned by his arrest and imprisonment, will be measurably allayed.—*Jour. Com.*

Silk Business in Jamaica.—A portion of the Northampton, (Mass.) Silk Company and their dependents emigrated to the Island of Jamaica, with a view to try the experiment of silk cultivation in that Island. The last Northampton Gazette announces the success of the enterprise, at least so far as Mr. Whitmarsh is concerned, in the following paragraph:

"Letters from Jamaica to Jan. 17th state that the first experiment of feeding worms was very successful. The insects were so healthy, that not a single one had failed.—The m

From the Knickerbocker.

The Happy Home.

I love the hearth where evening brings
Her loved ones from their daily tasks,
Where virtue spreads her spotless wings,
And vice, fell serpent, never basks;
Where sweetly rings upon the ear
The blooming daughter's gentle song,
Like heavenly music whispering near,
While thrilling hearts the notes prolong.

For there the father sits in joy,
And there the cheerful mother smiles,
And there the laughter-loving boy,
With sportive tricks, the eve beguiles;
And love, beyond what worldlings know,
Like sunlight on the purest foam,
Descends, and with its cheering glow,
Lights up the Christian's home.

Contentment spreads her holy calm
Around a resting place so bright,
And gloomy Sorrow finds a balm,
In gazing at so fair a sight;
The world's cold selfishness departs,
And Discord rears its front no more,—
There pity's pearly tear-drop starts,
And Charity attends the door.

No biting scandal, fresh from hell,
Grates on the ear, or scalds the tongue;
There kind remembrance loves to dwell,
And virtue's meed is sweetly sung;
And human nature soars on high,
Where heavenly spirits love to roam,
And Vice, as stalks it rudely by,
Admires the Christian's happy home.

Oft have I joined the lovely ones
Around the bright and cheerful hearth,
With father, mother, daughters, sons,
The brightest jewels of the earth;
And while the world grew dark around,
And Fashion called her senseless throng,
I've fancied it was holy ground,
And that fair girl's a seraph's song.

And swift as circles fade away
Upon the bosom of the deep,
When pebbles, tossed by boys at play,
Disturb its still and glassy sleep,
The hours that sped in pure delight,
And wandering feet forgot to roam,
While wave the banners of the night
Above the Christian's happy home.

The rose that blooms in Sharon's vale,
And scents the purple morning's breath,
May, in the shades of evening, fail,
And bend its crimson head in death;
And earth's bright ones, amid the tomb,
May, like the blushing rose, decay;
But still the mind, the mind shall bloom,
When time and nature fade away.

And there, amid a holier sphere,
Where the archangel bows in awe,
Where sits the King of glory near,
And executes his perfect law,
The ransomed of the earth, with joy,
Shall in their robes of beauty come,
And find a rest without alloy,
Amid the Christian's happy home.

From the Spirit of the Age.

A Scene in a Vermont Winter.

BY C. G. EASTMAN.

'Twas a bitter night, in the winter time,
As cold as it ever could be,—
The wild old Norther, howled like the chime
Of the waves of an angry sea.
In his tempest-breath, on the mountain bleak,
Oh me! how the trees would writhe and creak!
He shouts on the hill and the plain, ho! ho!
He whirls from his nostrils the blinding snow
And growls with a mighty glee.

All night it never so hard hath snowed—
He hath made him a curious lair,
That shivering dog, by the half-filled road,
With the snow in his shaggy hair;
As the storm beats hard he doth crouch and growl
And shut his eyes with a dismal howl!
Then, to shield himself from the cutting sleet,
His head is pressed on his quivering feet—
Pray what does the dog do there!

His master came from the town that night,
That night from the town came he,
When the tempest raved with a maniac's might,
And the plain was a trackless sea.
But, scarcely a league of the way he had come,
Ere his eye grew dull and his hand grew numb,
And his horse, a beautiful Morgan brown,
In the thickening snow drifts floundered down
O'er a hidden log of the lea.

* * * * *

He hath given the last faint jerk of the rein
To rouse up the weary steed,
And the poor dog howls to the blast in vain,
For help in his master's need.
He strives no more with a wistful cry
To catch, if he may, his master's eye,
Nor wags his tail if the rude wind flap
The skirt of his coat across his lap—
Of the storm now, they've no heed.

The wind went down and the storm was o'er,
'Tis the hour of midnight, past,
The forest writhes and bends no more
In the rush of the mighty blast.
The moon looks out with a silver light,
On the high old hills with snow-drifts white,
And the giant shadow of Campbell's Hump,
Of ledge and tree and ghostly stump,
Again on the plain are cast.

But there they are, by the hidden log,
Who came that night from the town,
The man and his sleigh and his faithful dog,
And his beautiful Morgan brown;
He sits in his sleigh, his face is bland,
With his cap on his head and the reins in his hand—
The dog with his head on his master's feet,
And the horse, half seen, through the crusted sleet
Where he lay when he floundered down.

A Word to the Sluggish.

Lose this day loitering—'twill be the same story
To-morrow, and next more dilatory;
Thus indecision brings its own delays,
And days are lost lamenting over days.
Are you in earnest? Seize this very minute,
What you can do, or think you can, begin it;
Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it:
Only engage, and then the mind grows heated—
Begin it, and the work will be completed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Remarkable Temperance Movement.

The Pilot and Transcript of Baltimore, contains an account of a temperance movement that is truly interesting. It appears, that about nine months since, six habitual drunkards, and who had been so for a series of years, formed a resolution, while in a dram shop, never again to touch, taste, or handle any intoxicating drink. They immediately formed themselves into a "*Total Abstinence Society.*" With much persuasion they succeeded in getting a few other notoriously hard drinkers to join them. They then commenced holding weekly meetings, at each of which new applicants for membership presented themselves. Soon the number amounted to fifty. Each member was watched over with the greatest care, and if one wavered, he was kindly and perseveringly persuaded to return. At the end of nine months, the society numbered above two hundred members, most of whom had been, for years, habitual drunkards. They then held an "experience meeting," at which many of them related the degradation and misery to which they had been reduced, and the sufferings to which their families had been subjected. The account is represented as very affecting.

They intend to enlarge their operations and form auxilaries. They are determined to strike at the root of the evil. Their motto is, "We cannot fall."

How many wives and children have been made glad by this movement! None can object to it except the rumsellers—some poor slaves of their appetite, who are afraid "to sign away their liberties"—and those conservatives, who are so afraid that "things will be carried too far," that though they have fast hold of the car of reform, they must needs hold back with all their might.

Honorable Employment.—What is the most honorable employment? Is it to carry a green bag, and talk on knotty points of law in open Court? Is it to amplify a yard stick with graceful dexterity? Is it to sit at a shattered table in the garret with a goose-quill behind the ear, and a forefinger between the eye-brows, supporting an editor's aching head over a blank quire of paper? All these employments may be honorable, so far as they are useful to society, and you will agree also to this plain rule—that whatever is the most useful is the most honorable employment. Apply this rule to the skilful, industrious and honest cultivator of the earth. Who could live but for him? Who produces so much of what is absolutely indispensable to the wants of his fellows, as he? Is not his employment, then, honorable—ay, the most honorable, in proportion as its labors are the most useful in the world? Let him be respected accordingly. Next to him is the scientific mechanic, who builds our houses and ships, and makes our household goods. He too should be honored. Lawyers, preachers, who labor to promote "peace on earth and good will towards men," rather than to excite the sectarian antipathies of their hearers; doctors who seek to prevent disease, rather than tamper with it for a fee; merchants who sell at fair prices, deceive not their customers, and keep true accounts; these, and indeed all other classes, are useful and necessary in society, should be encouraged and honored accordingly; but it is time the notion was done away, that farming and handicraft are not as respectable. They are more useful, and therefore should be regarded as more honorable. The men who own the soil they till; who can live independently by their own productions, and then supply other classes of citizens with the means of subsistence, are the true Nobility of a Republic. They are the "bones and muscles," which must keep the body politic together. We respect them,—we honor them. Would that there were more such, and fewer idle, lazy drones, who scorn honest labor and strut in gay attire, living upon the productive industry of men far better than themselves.—*Maine Cultivator.*

Quebec, Feb. 10.—On the 21st of June, 1764, the first number of the "Quebec Gazette," the first newspaper issuing from the first Printing Press set up in the present British possessions in North America, was published. It has had to record various changes since, it was itself suspended in consequence of The Stamp Act of 1765, and by the Siege of Quebec, in 1775. When the Gazette was first established, England had thirteen Colonies on this Continent, east of the Alleghanies, besides Canada and Nova Scotia. From this day, what remains of Canada, North of the United States of America, again becomes one Province, in virtue of a Royal Proclamation issued at Montreal on the 5th instant, under an act of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, passed on the 23d July last. Two Provincial Governments, two Local Legislatures, granted on the prayer of the Colonists, by act of the British Parliament half a century ago, are extinguished, at the instigation of parties in the Provinces, without consulting their inhabitants or representatives freely chosen by them. The Revenue raised in the Colony is disposed of without their consent, and the future composition of their Local Legislature, which is to dispose of their persons and property, affect their rights and liberties as British subjects, is settled, also without their consent.

Education in Vermont.—The attention of some of the good people of the Green Mountain State has recently been called to the momentous importance of a thorough and universal Common School system. A convention has lately been held at Brandon, in that State, which adjourned to meet again, for the purpose of discussing this subject, and the letters, addresses and speeches, all indicated the liveliest sensibility to the reform proposed. Not only primary schools, seminaries, and academies—but geological, mineralogical and scientific explorations are strongly urged upon the attention of the energetic citizens as a means of multiplying the wealth and developing the resources of that state. Several institutions for such youth as love to retire to sequestered villages for the prosecution of their studies—are opened and being established, and among them we would mention a literary institution which has just been opened for pupils of both sexes, in Perkinsville, in a beautiful and retired situation surrounded with rural and picturesque scenery.

Chemical Experiment.—The power which science has given man over the material world, was beautifully illustrated by Prof. Torrey, last week. By the aid of a very powerful condensing apparatus improved by Prof. Johnson, of Middletown, Ct., he converted carbonic acid gas to a solid. A part of it evaporated in the process, withdrawing the heat so rapidly from the remainder, (which was more than enough to fill a pint measure,) that its temperature was reduced to 145 below zero, or 177 degrees below the freezing point. The difference between boiling water, and freezing water, is only 180 degrees. Thus it lacked but three degrees of being *as much colder than ice, as ice is colder than boiling water.* It caused a tingling of the fingers, when we touched it, which seemed like a burn. Of course its temparature could only be examined by an alcoholic thermometer. Large quantities of quicksilver, when brought in contact with it, became as solid as lead.

The great man.—The greatest man is he, says Channing, who choses the right with invincible resolution; who resists the sorest temptation from within and from without; who bears the heaviest burdens cheerfully; who is calmest in storms, and most fearless under menaces and frowns; whose reliance on truth, on virtue, on God, is unfaltering.

Martyrdom in Madagascar.

The New-York Observer publishes the following extracts of a letter from Rev. D. Jones, Tauanrive, July 20, 1840, giving the melancholy details:

"After my arrival at the capital, on the 3d of July, I was told that there were on the eastern side of the town, near Ifaliarvo, sixteen of the native christians, in bonds, waiting their trial. Having succeeded in hiding themselves from their persecutors for nearly two years, they made up their minds, some months ago, to escape from the island, if possible, and take refuge in the Mauritus; but alas! after they had proceeded safely, within three or four days' journey of Tamative, on the eastern coast, they were caught, bound and carried back to the capital. It is said that two of them, a native and a woman, made their escape in the night, while the guards were asleep, and have not yet been retaken. The others were brought to trial, and separately examined, each apart from the rest, but all stood firm as a rock. Of the fourteen, *nine were condemned to death*, and the ninth of July was fixed as the day for their execution.

On the morning of that day the preparations for the dreadful scene were commenced, by a tremendous roar of cannon, and thousands of soldiers appeared marching towards the parade ground.—About noon, the officer went forth to deliver the kabary respecting the sixteen christians who had been taken in attempting to flee to the Mauritus, and to make proclamation that the Queen had ordered nine of them to be put to death in the afternoon. The firing of cannon was kept up at intervals all day; but the meaning of this ceremony was not generally understood. Between three and four o'clock, the christians, each tied to a pole and quite naked, were borne by men along the western side of the town, to Ampholripotsy, the place of execution. After a short interval, a cannon was fired as a signal; the executioners approached, the nine were instantly speared to death, and their spirits fled to eternal glory.

Paul and his wife, Joshua and his wife, and Flora, or Raminaby (wife of David, now in England) were of the number of these martyrs. The names of the others, I have not been able to ascertain. The head of Paul, and that of another man were cut off and fixed on poles. It is worthy of remark, that the cannon which was fired as a signal to the executioners burst into pieces at the moment, and the gunner was seriously burnt by the explosion. This circumstance was considered by many as a bad omen. I do not know, correctly, how the others have been disposed of; some say they are in slavery, but this is not certain.

Thus it is seen, that the spirit of persecution against the Christian continues to rage with unabated rancor and malignity, and that the hostility manifested by the Queen and her counsellors, to the Gospel and the work of missions, is such as to preclude the least hope of the door being open for us to resume our labors in this country, until some great change takes place in the present system."

Good for Evil.—In the following anecdote we have an exemplification of the Apostolic injunction,—"overcome evil with good." If we possess teachable minds, I doubt whether a logical and learned essay would do more to enforce upon us a prayerful consideration of these words. From the unsophisticated juvenile heart, truth in new and forcible light often gushes out. Blessed are they who, laying aside all love of dominion, are ready to sit with Mary at the foot of the Cross, there to listen to the praise of God, perfected by "babes and sucklings."

"A very little girl was fond of reading the Bible, and it was there she learned how to treat those who injured her. One day she came to her mother very much delighted to show her some plums that a friend had given her. The mother said, 'she is very kind, she has given you a great many.' 'Yes,' said the little girl, 'she is very kind, indeed, and she gave me more than these, but I have given some away.' 'Ah, my child, to whom did you give them?' 'I gave them to a girl that pushes me off the path, and makes faces at me.' 'But why did you give them to such a naughty girl?' 'Because I thought that would make her know that I wished to be kind to her; and she will not perhaps be unkind and rude to me again.'"

Here is heavenly wisdom flowing from the infant mind. Here is eloquent preaching with sublime practice. Speak on, ye young heralds of the Cross, in words of truth, in actions of purity. The world, the church, the ministry, need your labors. Let man, woman, and child, go out with heaven's credentials, and speak as the good heart is ever wont to speak. The "field is the world," and great is the darkness thereof. Each step we take is missionary ground. Idolatry and practical infidelity cover the whole earth! Enter, ye good hearts and true, the vineyard of your master, and labor faithfully for the redemption of the world.—*Practical Christian.*

The Inventor of Lithography.—Fifty years ago there lived at Munich a poor fellow, by name Aloys Senefelder, who was in so little repute as an author and artist, that painters and engravers refused to publish his works at their own charges, and so get him upon some plan for doing without their aid. In the first place, Aloys invented a certain kind of ink which would resist the action of the acid that is usually employed by engravers, and with this he made his experiments upon copper plates as long as he could afford to purchase them. He found that to write upon the plates, backwards, after the manner of the engravers, required much skill and many trials, and he thought that, were he to practice upon any other polished surface, a smooth stone for instance, the least costly article imaginable, he might spare the expense of the copper until he had sufficient skill to use it. One day, it is said, Aloys was called upon to write—rather a humble composition for an author and artist—a washing bill. He had no paper at hand, and so he wrote out the bill with some of his newly invented ink, upon one of his Kilheim stones. Some time afterwards, he thought he would try and take an impression of his washing bill—he did, and succeeded.—Such is the story, which the reader most likely knows well—and having alluded to the origin of the art, we shall not follow the stream through the windings and enlargements after it issues from the little parent rock or fill our pages with the rest of the pedigree. *Senefelder Invented Lithography.*

Mrs. Adams, wife of John Adams, in writing a letter to her husband, just after the battle of Bunker Hill, (Mr. Adams being then in Philadelphia,) says "Our Johnny has come to the distinction of being post-boy between Braintree and Boston." In one of her letters to her son, a few years afterwards, when he was with his father in France, she expostulates with him on account of the impetuosity of his temper, and tells him that unless he subdues that passion, she fears it will be a great impediment to his success in life. In the same letter she commends her son's adherence to truth from his earliest childhood, and says, she hopes the maturity of that disposition will be a rock which will bear him up all his days.

A Spirited Reply.—"Doctor," said a hard-looking brandy-faced customer yesterday, to a physician—"Doctor, I'm troubled with an oppression, an uneasiness about the breast—what do you suppose the matter is?" "All very easily accounted for," said the physician, "you have water on the chest." "Water! Come, that'll do well enough for a joke, but how could I get water on my chest, when I havn't touched a drop in fifteen years! If you had said brandy, you might have hit it."

SCENES AT THE SOUTH.

A most Villanous Affair.—On yesterday one of the most villanous transactions was brought to light which has ever, within our knowledge, disgraced our city.

It appears that two individuals, by the name of Bishop and Heely, brought to this place a certain amount of furniture and dry goods in copartnership, for the purpose of speculation. Of the existence of the copartnership there was no legal evidence between them, which Heely took advantage of, and for which cause Bishop published him.

Bishop held in his possession certain documents which Heely was anxious to gain possession of, and for this purpose applied to three individuals, (Myers, Minor, and we believe, Holzman,) and stated to them, that if they would knock Bishop down and take from him the documents, they should have therefor the sum of $200, which they agreed to accept; but instead of proceeding as Heely had directed, told Bishop of what had passed, who gave them copies of the documents, which they took to Heely, who being intoxicated at the time, received the copies, thinking them the originals, and immediately paid down the sum agreed upon. But the villany of Heely did not stop here. Fearing that Bishop might hereafter stand in his way and put him to some trouble, he made a second application to the three individuals, and with a more tempting bribe, to go still deeper into villany, even to the steeping of their hands in the blood of their fellow man. Heely proposed to them that if they would *assassinate* Bishop he would pay for the service $300. This also was accepted by them, and, as in the first instance, they informed Bishop of the proposition, who confined himself to his room for a day or two. In order to secure the pay, and, as it was necessary to show some sign of having done the deed, the trio, on Monday night last, repaired to the room of Heely, bearing with them all the "horrible paraphernalia of the midnight assassin," such as bloody hands and daggers, clothes spotted with blood, &c.

Some doubt seemed to rest on the mind of Heely as to whether the murder had really been committed, but they were soon removed by Minor who had rubbed tobacco juice in his eyes in order that he might shed copious tears of repentance, and show great compunctions of conscience for the part he had acted in the horrible affair; and after the others had made a few oaths that the deed was committed, and that they were willing to take him to the spot where the body was interred, Heely gave into the hands of Myers a check upon one of our banks for $300.

In this affair the old adage, "honesty among rogues," was broken. Myers presented the check to the bank, upon which payment was made, who instead of dividing the money, share and share alike, as was agreed upon, represented to his companions that he had drawn only half the amount, giving to each $50, and, soon after, fearing the consequences of his rascality, left the city.

The astonishment of Heely can better be imagined than described, when, on going up town on Wednesday morning, among the first persons he met was Bishop who he thought had been assassinated. Had the ghosts of all those who slumber in their graves sprung up before him, he could not have shown greater horror than was depicted on his countenance. But his horror soon changed to wrath. He who was so obnoxious still lived, but his money was gone. Although a villain, yet, luckily for society, he had not wisdom, and, as fools are always garrulous, forthwith he told of the manner in which he had been duped. Prosecution has been commenced, in the name of the State, against Heely, for the crime of conspiracy against the life of Bishop; and also against Bishop for gaining money from Heely fraudulently.

We hope the matter may be pushed to the utmost rigor of the laws, and all the parties concerned made to suffer as they deserve.—*Arkansas Star, Feb.* 4.

Poisoning.—It is stated that in the parish of St. Helena, La., a scoundrel, name not mentioned, lately attempted to poison a Mr. West and his whole family, in that place, by putting arsenic in a barrel of flour. It is said that he purchased the arsenic in an apothecary's store in Clinton. Mrs. West has since died from the effects of the poison, and a negro woman is not expected to recover. The object of the villain, who is said to be a connexion, was, that he might inherit the property.

The negro man who murdered Mr. Kirkpatrick, of Stewart County, was hung agreeably to his sentence, on the 12th instant.—*Savannah Republican.*

Brutal Murder.—A correspondent of the Boston Mail, writing from Darien, Ga., gives a minute account of the death of a Mrs. Burton, and the previous circumstances of her history. She, it appears, a year or two since, was a girl of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, the life of the circle in which she moved; but in an evil hour she met a man of fashion and wealth, named Burton, by whom she was seduced, and who was afterwards compelled by her father, with a pistol at his breast, to marry her. It resulted that Burton, who was a gambler, treated her in the most brutal manner, beating and otherwise ill using her, until he caused her death on the night of the 31st ult. She had concealed his treatment of her from her friends, from a fear of public exposure.

A Fugitive Slave.—On Saturday last, whilst two persons of this parish (father and son) were hunting on a small island, near prairie Marronne, a place but little frequented, they came suddenly upon a negro man named John, a runaway, belonging to Mr. Voorhis, who had been absent from his master for the last two years. One of the party attempted to seize him, but he ran to a cabin built there by himself, and brought a gun, with which he attempted to defend himself, but fortunately missed fire, and the young man immediately seized him; a scuffle ensued, which would have probably terminated fatally to the young man, had not his father, who was yet at some distance from the spot, ran to his assistance and despatched the negro by firing at him, within almost touching distance, a gun loaded with shot, which pierced his neck, and killed him on the spot. This negro was implicated in the Lafayette insurrection, and had once before been shot at in the woods of that parish, but effected his escape, as it was supposed at the time, without injury; it appears now the shot had entered his back, and that the wounds had not yet healed when he was killed. This fellow had a very good cabin, plenty of provisions, a gun, powder, shot, and a horse, the whole of which he had stolen from different individuals.—*Attakapas Gaz. Jan.* 30.

Baltimore, Feb. 8, 1841.—There was a rebellion yesterday among the students of St. Mary's College, of this city. A student, so runs the story, ordered a white female servant to take a pitcher of water to his room, which she refused, as the room did not come under her supervision. Thereupon the student broke the pitcher over her head.—For this most disgraceful and dishonorable act the President of the College immediately expelled him. Some of the other students undertook to resent his quarrel, and whilst they were at the next meal, they simultaneously rose, upset the tables, breaking the dishes, and threatening further outrages. The police was called in, order soon restored and fifteen of the ringleaders dismissed in disgrace from the College.—*U. S. Gazette.*

Homicide.—We learn from one of our citizens who was in the place at the time, that at Helena, Ark., on the 6th inst., a man named Hendershot, a shoemaker by trade, was killed by another named Joyce. It seems that both had taken a dram too much, and an altercation took place which begun in jest, the "lie" was given by Joyce, when Hendershot knocked him down. It occurred in a shoe shop, and as he rose Joyce seized an old and much worn shoe-knife, very sharp at the point, but the owner of the shop and other persons interposed, telling Joyce to put down the knife, and if they must have a difficulty to go into the street. Hendershot immediately went out, followed by Joyce, who slipped the knife with him. When they were in the street, Hendershot, who was unarmed, perceiving the knife in the hand of his adversary, retreated behind a tree, around which he dodged several times, but at last was seized by the throat by Joyce, who plunged his knife into his heart. He only spoke twice, exclaiming that he was "stuck through the heart," and that the "d—d rascal has killed me," when he expired. Joyce was arrested and underwent an examining trial, the result of which we did not learn.—*Louisville Gazette.*

ITEMS.

Cotton Factories in the South.—The last Pensacola Gazette states that a Cotton Factory is about to be established at or near Arcadia in Escumbia county, Florida. In noticing the fact the Editor makes some very judicious and appropriate comments. The subject is one deserving the best consideration of every southerner, who desires the prosperity and independence of this portion of the confederacy. It is time to abandon abstractions and turn our attention to subjects of practical utility. The Gazette truly says:—"How strange it is that nothing of this kind has yet been done here! We produce the cotton, send it to market, ship it to New-York; it is sent thence to the manufactories at the North, goes through the modifications necessary to convert it into clothes for our negroes and for ourselves, it is returned in a manufactured state to New-York, burthened with all the profits of northern labor and northern capital; it is then purchased by our merchants, and they put on their fifty per cent. for exchange, insurance and profits.

The time is fast coming when the slumbering South will be awakened to the unwelcome truth, that she must manufacture her own clothes and raise her own provisions or her people must become the bond slaves of the North and the West."

The Patent Office.—Much dissatisfaction is expressed by inventors, with the management of the Patent Office at Washington. A meeting of such persons from eight different States, was held on the subject in this city on Monday evening. It was represented by the speakers, that some of the most important and useful inventions are kept back, from a want of confidence in the management of said office, and that others, equally useful and important, after being duly patented at Washington, have, through official mismanagement or neglect, been pirated to England; thus robbing the American inventor of the reward due to genius, and secured to it by our laws.

Death of Nathaniel Garrow.—We regret to learn by a letter from Auburn, dated March 4th, that Nathaniel Garrow, Marshal of the Northern District, died in that village, on the 3d inst. He was, apparently, in good health, and about his usual business in the morning, but toward night was attacked for the third time by apoplexy and died in a few hours.—*Albany Daily Adv.*

Sudden Death.—The Somerset (Pa.) Herald, announces the marriage of Mr. George Thompson, of Bedford county, on the 9th instant, to Miss Mary Schaffer, and says a distressing visitation of Providence followed almost upon the heels of the marriage. On Wednesday on their way to Bedford county, the wedding party stopped at Jacob Lambert's tavern on the Allegheny, and as Mr. Thompson was walking toward the stove to light a segar, he suddenly dropped down and in a few minutes was a corpse! Thus in the midst of joy was the young bridegroom upon the bier, and the young wife made a widow within twenty-four hours after their union.

Great Temperance Accession.—On Tuesday evening of last week, as the result of about forty addresses, delivered at different meetings, more than eleven hundred members were added to the New-York Temperance Society.

A Lottery-Man Convicted.—In Boston, Elisha W. Dana was recently convicted on five of six counts in an indictment for vending lottery tickets.

An Important Piece of News.—Intelligence has been received in this city from the British West Indies, stating that orders had some time since reached the islands from the Home Government, that 25,000 colored men were to be disciplined as soldiers, in addition to the ordinary colored militia and regulars of the islands.—*Phil. Inq.*

The Legislature.—A sort of *monster*, in legislation, was brought forward by Speaker Price on Thursday last, in the House of Representatives, in the form of a string of resolutions going to tax goods purchased in New-York and imported into Missouri, because of an altercation between Loco Foco Virginia and Whig New-York.—*Missouri Republican*

Canada Steam Frigate.—The Sackett's Harbor Journal states that a steam frigate of one thousand tons burthen is under contract to be built for the Colonial Government, at Kingston, Canada.

How it Operates.—In a debate in the Massachusetts Legislature, on the bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, Mr. Wright, of Springfield, remarked as a curious fact, that of most of the cases of imprisonment in that Commonwealth, more than one half were in Boston and New Bedford, and more than one quarter of all in the State, were cases of mariners, who have been sworn into prison by dishonest creditors.

The Sugar Crop of Louisiana.—The New Orleans True American says—"From information we have obtained from various sources, and upon which we can place reliance, we have come to the conclusion that the sugar crop of this year will not exceed 80,000 or 85,000 hogsheads, against 125,000 last year. In the Attakapas the falling off will be fully one fourth; in Lafourche one-third, and although as regards the river our information is not so exact, yet it may be stated at one fourth. The aggregate diminution in the whole state will be rising one-fourth."

[If this diminution were in the West Indies, it would of course be entirely owing to the laziness of the negroes, and the mischievous policy of emancipation. In Louisiana it will be laid to any thing rather than slavery.—*Ed. Standard.*]

The Britannia's Mails.—Over 20,000 letters, and forty bushels of newspapers, &c., were received at the Boston Post Office by the Britannia steamer. The letters for New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, were despatched by the Stonington cars at 4 1-2 o'clock, P. M., the same day, and the whole were distributed at 10 o'clock, P. M., notwithstanding the immense amount; and all in addition to the ordinary business of the office.

Iron Ore in Saratoga County.—The Ballston Spa Gazette of the 9th, contains a communication describing an extensive bed of iron ore in the town of Hadley, which is said to produce iron of the best description, and from its being located on a steep sidehill, can be worked with trifling expense.—*Albany Daily Ade.*

Richard H. Menefee, formerly a Representative in Congress from the eleventh district in Kentucky, and one of the candidates for the U. S. Senate, at the recent election in Frankfort, died at Lexington on Saturday week, after a short illness.

The Vacant Judgeship.—On Saturday last the President nominated to the Senate Peter V. Daniel, of Virginia, as the successor of Judge Barbour, deceased, on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Among the ondits from Washington, it is said that the nomination will not be confirmed, and that there is a proposition pending for the re-organization of the Circuit, which will diminish the number of justices of the Supreme Court to eight, instead of nine, and render any new appointment unnecessary. The Senate is strongly disposed towards this course.

A philanthropist, by way of illustrating the horrors of solitary confinement, stated that out of one hundred persons sentenced to endure this punishment for life in an American prison, only fifteen survived it.

Yankee Enterprise.—An immense amount of clothes pins, hoe and mop handles, are manufactured at Rindge and Fitzwilliam, in this State, which are taken to New Orleans, and thence two or three thousand miles up the Mississippi and Missouri, to every village or symptom of a village. A one horse waggon of these articles brings, at factory prices, about seventy-five dollars. A dozen or two of clothes pins, and perhaps a mop handle, pay for a night's entertainment, and the man who takes them out to dispose of, after an absence of a month or two, brings home money enough to pay for his load and one or two hundred dollars of trash pay, besides paying all his expenses out of the waggon.—*N. H. Eagle.*

Consuming Smoke.—A Mr. Dempfel, a German, has invented an aparatus, to be attached to steamboats, for consuming smoke, and upon an inspection of his invention Government has ordered it to be tested in our steam vessels of war.

The New-York and Harlem Railroad Company have completed four miles and a-half of their road in Westchester, and the cars commenced running over this extension on Sunday last.

The Hon. James T. Morehead has been chosen U. S. Senator by the Kentucky Legislature.

"They will not let us alone."—The correspondent of the National Intelligencer at Paris says—"You will find the whole series of Dr. Madden's Letters, in the Morning Chronicle, on Egypt and Syria. Though the Doctor has accommodated his statements to the ends of the Quadruple Alliance, they appear to me the most instructive on the whole. He is about to publish them in a book entitled *Egypt and Mohammed Ali, his Slaves and his Subjects.* I note in the London Literary Gazette, next to the Doctor's advertisement, another, without the author's name, on *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the United States of North America.* They will not let us alone."

Pottawattemie Indians.—On the 13th instant, Col. Isaac Kethan, Indian agent, with an interpreter and four chiefs of the Pottawattemie nation, from the Indian country, arrived at St. Louis, on their way to the city of Washington, for the purpose of making some arrangements with the department in behalf of their tribe.

Texas.—The President of Texas, in his late message to Congress, says—"A new treaty is to be made with the government of the British Queen for the suppression of the slave trade. The President believes that the return of the Federal leaders to their duty as Mexican citizens, will tend to hasten the period when the department of Texas shall become again an integral part of the Republic."

New York Steamers.—A proposition is now before the Government, from this city, to build four steamers of 2500 tons each, to run between New-York and Liverpool, for the conveyance of the mails, &c.; and in case of war with any foreign power, the government to be allowed to take the vessel at a valuation agreed upon by both parties. The vessels are to be built in all respects as men of war, and to carry 1500 to 2000 tons freight with 200 passengers, and intend to burn anthracite coal. The capital to be employed is two millions of dollars. If the government accede to the proposition, two of the steamers, it is said, will be ready in May, 1842—the other two the following year; the two first to run monthly, and, when the others are completed, to run twice a month, except three months in winter, when they will run only once.—*Express.*

The Black Law.—The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of the Ohio Legislature have reported in favor of the repeal of the Black Law. The committee show plainly, that the law is unconstitutional and opposed to public policy. Yet the correspondent of the Philanthropist at the capital thinks it doubtful whether a majority of the representatives will go for its repeal.

The Exploring Expedition.—Letters received in this city state that Lieut. Underwood and Midshipman Wilkes Henry had been killed by the savages on one of the Sandwich Islands. The letter giving this intelligence was dated on board the Peacock, October 24. The occurrence took place July 24. It appears that they had just landed on the islands to obtain some provisions, when a large body of natives rushed upon them. Their bodies were rescued from the cannibals, for cannibals they are, as they afterward confessed that the attack was made solely to procure human flesh for food. They were buried on a small uninhabited island of Underwood's Group, which was named Henry's Island, in memory of that ill-fated young officer. The island was afterwards attacked by a part of the squadron.—Nothing was spared but the women and children. All the male savages were killed and the houses destroyed.

Greenough's Statue of Washington.—A correspondent of the Boston Transcript, writing from Naples, January 13th, says:

"Greenough has finished his statue of Washington, which is of colossal size, and a beautiful work. He is represented in Grecian costume, seated, holding a sheathed sword extended, with the handle forward in the left hand, expressive of resigning to the people his military command, whilst the right hand is elevated, and the finger pointed upwards, to signify that to Heaven they are indebted for success in the use of it. The statue will be sent to America next summer, as soon as a ship of war shall arrive to receive it."

The Hon. Rufus Choate, of Boston, has been elected to the U. States Senate in place of the Hon. Daniel Webster, resigned.

FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER.

For sale by Isaac T. Hopper, 143 Nassau Street.

THE FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER, &c., containing 769 pages large octavo—price $1 50. It contains much interesting original and selected matter, well worth the attention of the members of the Society of Friends, as well as the public generally.

Bound up in the volume will be found, "Brief Remarks on some of the charges recently made against the early writers of the Society of Friends, by George Harrison, New Castle, England." The following short extract will shew, in some measure, the character of the work, viz:

"The working of this subtil spirit, which has got abroad, —this old accuser of the brethren, has been very insidious; it has been at work for many years, but durst not avow its real object and character. It pretended it was as attacking Hicksism, but it was easy to see, long ago, that genuine Quakerism was meant. It is now throwing off the mask, and shewing itself in its true colors."

"The Destruction of Jerusalem, an absolute and irresistible proof of the Divine origin of Christianity; including a Narrative of the calamities which befel the Jews, so far as they tend to verify our Lord's predictions relative to that event: with a description of the City and Temple." This work is deeply interesting to Christians of all denominations.

"The history of the life of Thomas Ellwood, or an account of his birth, education, &c., with divers observations on his life and manners when a youth; and how he came to be convinced of the truth; with his many sufferings and services for the same. Also, several other remarkable passages and occurrences. Written by his own hand. To which is added, a supplement," by J. W.

It can hardly be necessary to inform any member of the Society of Friends of the merits of this work. It has gone through four editions, and is among the most interesting of Friends' journals.

This latter work can be had separately—price 50 cents

Right and Wrong in the Anti-Slavery Societies.

——by the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
Wordsworth.

THE Seventh Annual Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, presented October 14, 1840. For sale at the anti-slavery office, 143 Nassau st. Price, 12½ cents single.

This work ought to be in the hands of every abolitionist.

The following selection from it is the purest gold, and beautifully wrought out:

"The anti-slavery societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the favorers of the cause, a few years hence, will be engaged; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation—partial emancipation—intermediate arrangements—delay,* become the rallying words of the opposition—then let the slave rejoice if the anti-slavery societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though *favorers* of the cause of freedom, will not deserve to be called its friends; for they will need constant and persevering rebuke, entreaty, warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the cause. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. 'Not by might nor by power, but by *my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts!"

Nov. 19, 1840.

Just Published,

"*The Envoy, From Free hearts to the Free.*"

A COLLECTION of original pieces in poetry and prose, published by the Pawtucket Juvenile Emancipation Society, for the benefit of its funds.

This little volume is confidently recommended to the patronage of the public, as it is believed that it will be found to possess merit independent of the object which has called it forth. Many writers have contributed to the pages of the annual, presenting thereby a pleasing variety in style and sentiment; yet agreeing in these grand and fundamental points, the universal brotherhood of *man*, and the abolition of *all* slavery.

For sale at 143 Nassau street—25 Cornhill, Boston—the Anti-Slavery Office, Providence, and at J. M'Intyre's, Pawtucket, R. I. Price 42 cts.

New York, November 19, 1840.

Free Dry Goods.

CALICOES, bleached and unbleached muslins, bleached and unbleached Canton flannel, apron check, colored muslins, printed and plain pongees, bleached, unbleached, mixed, and lead-colored knitting cotton, cotton and linen table diapers, printed and plain grass cloths, wicking and cotton laps, fine linen thread, superfine bed ticking, cotton pantaloon stuffs, men's and women's cotton hose, white and black wadding. Also, a variety of silk, linen, and woollen goods, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Corner of Arch & Fifth street.

Philadelphia, 11th mo. 12, 1840.

N. B. Persons from a distance wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders to the subscriber. C WISE.

Dr. Church's Tooth Powder,

OR THE GREAT TOOTH PRESERVATIVE.

1. It is excellent in cleansing the Teeth and making them white, and preventing their decay. In order to keep the teeth clean and wholesome, the Brush and Powder must be used; for, by the frequent mastication of food, there is a viscid matter which adheres to the teeth, and which, if not removed, causes disease and decay.

2. It is an infallible cure for the Tartar collected on the Teeth, wholly removing it. Now, whenever tartar is suffered to gather, it occasions the swelling and inflaming of the gums, causing absorption and the expulsion of the teeth from the jaws, while it is the source of great pain.

3. It is sure to cause and preserve a sweet breath, and a pleasant taste to the mouth. Sad indeed is the evil, the pain, the destruction of comfort and health, which is brought about by *neglect.* For there is and there can be nothing wor